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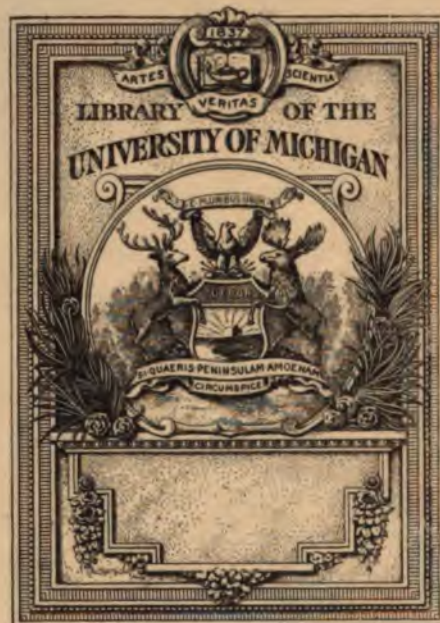
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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY.

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

**EDWARD E. HALE.
NATHANIEL PAINE.**

**CHARLES A. CHASE.
CHARLES C. SMITH.**

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

NEW SERIES, VOL. XII.

OCTOBER, 1897—OCTOBER, 1898.



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NOTE.

The present volume, No. XII. of the New Series, gives the Proceedings at the Annual Meetings of 1897 and 1898, and the April Meeting in 1898.

The contributions accompanying the Reports of the Council are by Franklin B. Dexter, George F. Hoar and Edward E. Hale. Other valuable contributions are from the pens of Wilberforce Eames, J. Franklin Jameson, George F. Hoar, Cyrus Hamlin, Frederick J. Kingsbury, G. Stanley Hall, Henry S. Nourse, Andrew McF. Davis, Thomas C. Mendenhall and Sidney Crawford.

An Index to the Volume is given herewith.

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

ERRATA.

- Page 9, line 26, for *Erikson* read *Ericson*.
Page 54, line 14, for *Edward* read *Edwin*.
Page 57, line 26, for *LL.D.* read *Litt. D.*
Page 89, lines 27, 33, for *Bulkeley* read *Bulkley*.
Page 213, line 19, for *Winter* read *Winters*.
Page 275, line 3, for *Donoil's* read *Doniol's*.
Page 279, line 12, for *Arlow* read *Arlon*.
Page 279, line 36, for *Rice* read *Rich*.
Page 303, line 4, for *Calkins* read *Caulkins*.
Page 309, lines 22, 23, for *Douglas B. Brymner* read *Douglas Brymner*.
Page 313, line 35, for *Diar* read *Viar*.
Page 339, line 27, for *Ichonophiles* read *Iconophiles*.
Page 354, line 10, omit *His* and add account after *Brief*.
Page 397, line 5, for *Edwin* read *Edward*.

PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 21, 1897, AT THE HALL OF THE
SOCIETY IN WORCESTER.

THE Society was called to order by the President, Hon.
STEPHEN SALISBURY.

The following members were present :

Edward E. Hale, George F. Hoar, Nathaniel Paine,
Stephen Salisbury, Samuel A. Green, Elijah B. Stoddard,
Edward L. Davis, William A. Smith, James F. Hunnewell,
Egbert C. Smyth, Edward G. Porter, Reuben A. Guild,
Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton, Franklin B. Dexter,
Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Andrew McF. Davis,
Cyrus Hamlin, J. Evarts Greene, Henry S. Nourse, William
B. Weeden, Robert N. Toppan, Henry H. Edes, Edward
Channing, George E. Francis, Frank P. Goulding, A.
George Bullock, G. Stanley Hall, John McK. Merriam,
J. Franklin Jameson, Calvin Stebbins, Wilberforce Eames,
Henry A. Marsh, Simeon E. Baldwin, Thomas C.
Mendenhall, William T. Forbes, Leonard P. Kinnicutt,
George H. Haynes, Charles L. Nichols, Joseph F. Loubat.

The records of the last meeting were read by the Secre-
tary, and approved.

Professor FRANKLIN B. DEXTER read the Report of the
Council, and also a paper prepared by himself on "The
Presidential Office at Yale College."

Mr. ANDREW McF. DAVIS, referring to the inference
drawn in the paper from the use of the title "Rector," that
it was to avoid attracting attention to the institution, men-
tioned the fact, that in 1686, during the inter-regnum,

after the first charter of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay was annulled, and before the charter of the Province was granted, while the affairs of the Commonwealth were being administered by a Council of which Joseph Dudley was President, the Council met at Cambridge and appointed Increase Mather, Rector of Harvard College. This use of the word at Cambridge and New Haven might, perhaps, indicate a fashion of the times.

Professor DEXTER said :—

The point that I intended to make was, that the position of the officer at the Collegiate School at Connecticut was different. They did not make him in any sense President, and they adopted the term that was least noticeable.

Judge SIMEON E. BALDWIN said :—

Possibly the term Rector was adopted by the Trustees as well as the term Collegiate School in view of the fund which had been bequeathed by Gov. Hopkins for the advancement of education in New England, both at the grammar school and college. Harvard in fact obtained a share of that fund on the death of Gov. Hopkins's widow as a college institution. In the Hopkins Grammar School at New Haven, which has always been maintained on the original foundation, the head master has been styled the "Rector" from the first, I believe, and the government is in the hands of a board known as the "Hopkins Committee of Trustees."

Professor Dexter has painted to us in strong colors the character of President Dwight. Of all the college presidents in that era, the era closing with the middle of the present century, it seems to me that Dr. Dwight presents the most distinct personality. His influence was felt not only in the immediate sphere of his college duty but on all the institutions of the State. If any man was entitled to be called the leader in ecclesiastical matters of southern

New England it was Dr. Dwight. But all that tended, in magnifying his office, to isolate him in a measure from the student-world. I have heard that after President Day—a very mild-mannered man—succeeded Dr. Dwight, he was one day visiting in Colchester and stopped to dine at the tavern. One of the trustees of the college was with him. A student from Yale, living in the town, happened to pass by, and President Day rose from the piazza where he was seated, stepped into the street, said "Mr. Smith, how do you do?" and shook hands with him. The trustee on his return reported the affair and said, "I then felt that good manners had departed from Yale College forever."

I might add another reminiscence which came to me many years ago from his private secretary, Dr. Joseph D. Wickham of Vermont, who occasionally visited New Haven in his old age.

President Dwight's eyesight was very indifferent, so that he always had an amanuensis, who was employed for the purpose by the corporation, generally a student. Wickham was one of these. During the last years of the President's life he was attacked by the disease that proved fatal, and at one time was for some weeks unable to conduct the Sunday services at the chapel. He rallied, however, and when he was about to resume his pulpit composed a sermon on pride. He dictated it to Wickham, who was then his amanuensis. As he described the evil character of pride, spiritual pride and the pride of life, warming with his subject he proceeded thus: "Young gentlemen, I feel that I have been a sinner in this matter myself. During the months of weariness and sickness from which I have just emerged, I have seen that my life during past years has been too much governed by pride and self-seeking." The amanuensis threw down his pen. "*Write it down*, young man; *WRITE IT DOWN*," thundered the President, and he did write it down, and a profound impression it afterwards made on the student audience.

Vice-President HOAR said :—

I think Judge Baldwin might have made the statement which he so courteously made, without any limitation whatever. President Dwight has always seemed to me the most interesting single figure among American College Presidents. Of course I am not speaking of the living. But I do not think it would be any overstatement to say, that for a grand personality and power, Dr. Dwight was the most striking man who ever filled that office in the United States. He was, I suppose, a powerful force in the whole political and public life of Connecticut, as has been said: his was the single controlling mind to whose judgment great men as well as small men submitted, and whose counsel was sought. While some of the poetry in the *Conquest of Canaan* may excite amusement, yet Dr. Dwight still had it in him to draw a pretty lofty stroke as a poet. He left at least one hymn which I think the Church will preserve. There is a book with which I was very familiar in my early childhood. Dr. Dwight was a very intimate family friend in the household of my grandmother in New Haven. He married my father and mother. I used to hear a great many personal anecdotes of him and was brought up to reverence him, as my children have been brought up to reverence Dr. Hale. There was a little book, I do not know whether it is remembered very much now, but we had it in our library, which my mother brought from New Haven, called "Dwight's Decisions of Questions." He used to have the students, either a debating society or, perhaps, the whole membership of the senior class, debate questions which he proposed, and at the end of the debate the Doctor gave the decision as if he were the court. Those decisions are full of wisdom and sense and suggestions about all sorts of subjects, and full of a great deal of history, which is not to be found elsewhere. I remember his telling the students in his fashion,

about Col. Stoddard of Northampton, and using this phrase about him: "that he managed Massachusetts as a man manages his walking stick."

I would like to add one anecdote of President Day which I heard in my childhood. As Professor Dexter has said, he was a man of mild and quiet behavior and speech, but not without a shrewd wit. Old Dr. Porter, who was, I suppose, the father of the late President, came to New Haven to make a visit. He came to my grandmother's house, where Mr. Day was also a guest, and was invited to lead in the family prayers. That was a daily custom in that household. Dr. Porter asked to be excused, saying that he was a stranger. Mr. Day said, "Are you a stranger to prayer, Sir?"

The Report of the Treasurer was read by Mr. NATHANIEL PAINE.

The Report of the Librarian was read by Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON.

The several reports were accepted as the Report of the Society.

President SALISBURY said:—

At a meeting early in October the death of our associate and Secretary for Foreign Correspondence, James Hammond Trumbull, was brought to the notice of the Council of the Society, and remarks were made by various members. The action of the Council will be presented with the present Proceedings.

On a ballot for President of the Society, the Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, A.M., was unanimously elected.

Messrs. FRANK P. GOULDING, SAMUEL S. GREEN and JOHN M. MERRIAM, appointed a committee to nominate other officers, reported the following list:—

Vice-Presidents:

HON. GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL.D., of Worcester.

REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D., of Boston.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence:

FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, M.A., of New Haven,
Connecticut.

Secretary for Domestic Correspondence:

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., of Lincoln.

Recording Secretary:

CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

Treasurer:

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.

All the above being *ex-officio* members of the Council;
and the following—

Councillors:

HON. SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, LL.D., of Boston.

REV. EGBERT COFFIN SMYTH, D.D., of Andover.

SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A.M., of Worcester.

HON. EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS, A.M., of Worcester.

JEREMIAH EVARTS GREENE, B.A., of Worcester.

GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL, LL.D., of Worcester.

WILLIAM BARCOCK WEEDEN, A.M., of Providence,
Rhode Island.

HON. JOHN DAVIS WASHBURN, LL.B., of Worcester.

THOMAS CORWIN MENDENHALL, LL.D., of Worcester.

JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, A.M., of Portland, Maine.

Committee of Publication:

REV. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., of Boston.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.

CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

CHARLES C. SMITH, A.M., of Boston.

Auditors:

WILLIAM A. SMITH, A.B., of Worcester.

A. GEORGE BULLOCK, A.M., of Worcester.

The above-named gentlemen were elected on a single ballot.

The Secretary, in behalf of the Council, recommended for membership:—

JOSEPH FLORIMOND LOUBAT, LL.D., New York.

Major WILLIAM ROSCOE LIVERMORE, United States Army.

Hon. JOSEPH WILLIAMSON, A.M., Belfast, Maine.

The three gentlemen were elected.

WILBERFORCE EAMES, A.M., read a paper on "The New England Catechism."

Vice-President HOAR said:—

There was a Catechism in existence, and I am quite sure in use in one of the churches in Worcester, when I came here fifty years ago. Part of it read something in this way,—I can give the language substantially: "What is hell? Answer: A place beneath the earth full of fire and darkness. Who live in hell? Satan and his angels and all wicked men. What do they do in hell? They curse God and sin continually. Do you deserve to go there? I do."

Professor SMYTH, after expressing interest in the paper which had been read, referred to the investigations of a Scottish historian [Dr. Alexander F. Mitchell], into the sources of the Westminster Assembly's *Shorter Catechism*, for a long time generally used in the Congregational churches of New England. The interesting fact has come to light that this catechism, through a manual previously

drawn up in connection with the proceedings of the Assembly, was influenced in its construction by a catechism founded upon the *Apostles' Creed*, and prepared by the Rev. Ezekiel Rogers, who subsequently became the first pastor of the church in Rowley, Mass. Mr. Rogers was assisted and succeeded in this ministry by the Rev. Samuel Phillips, afterwards pastor of the church in Andover, Mass., and ancestor of many persons distinguished in our history, of whom I may mention the founders of the well-known academies at Andover and Exeter, also Wendell Phillips and Phillips Brooks. The influence of Rogers's Catechism on the *Shorter Catechism*, and the interest in this catechism of descendants of Samuel Phillips, who participated in the foundation of important educational institutions, are worthy of notice.

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE said :—

In Mr. Northend's very valuable book, published this summer, he gives a whole chapter to the influence of New England on the Westminster Conference.

Professor J. FRANKLIN JAMESON read a paper on "The History of the Early Political Uses of the Word Convention."

T. C. MENDENHALL, LL.D., called the attention of the Society to the disputed portion of the Alaska boundary line, exhibiting some recent English and Canadian maps showing, presumably, the line which would be claimed by Great Britain. Fortunately the newly discovered gold fields were unquestionably within Canadian territory, besides being in the neighborhood of that part of the line concerning which there can be no dispute, that is, the one hundred and forty-first meridian. He pointed out the necessity, however, of an early settlement of the boundary of Southeast Alaska, which is the uncertain and doubtful part of the whole, mineral resources of considerable importance

having been already found in the territory claimed by both nations. He declared that an effort would undoubtedly be made to break the traditional coast line of Alaska by what he believed to be a forced interpretation of the treaty defining the boundary line, and expressed the fear that in our general indifference regarding outlying interests, our government would be too willing to yield, especially if tempted by something which seemed to be of more immediate importance.

President SALISBURY said :—

At the meeting in April the fact of the celebration of the Cabot landing was borne in mind, and a committee was appointed to visit Halifax with the credentials of our Society. I will ask Mr. J. Evarts Greene to give us a statement of his experience.

Mr. J. EVARTS GREENE said :—

Having had the honor, which I shared with the Rev. Mr. Porter, our associate, of representing this Society at the meeting of the Royal Society of Canada in Halifax last spring, I now at our President's suggestion offer to the Society this informal report of the meeting.

The meeting, as you know, was held at Halifax, because that city was the nearest available place to the probable land-fall of John Cabot on his famous voyage whose result was the first landing of Europeans on the continent of North America, except, if you please, that of Leif Erikson and his Northmen. Cabot sailed and returned in 1497, and at the close of the fourth century thereafter the Royal Society of Canada determined to give to its annual meeting of this year the character of a commemoration of that event, so momentous to England and to the world.

The Historical Section of the Society had at this meeting the precedence of the other sections, at least in the general interest in its proceedings. Many eminent Cana-

dian scholars were present and contributed papers or shared in the oral discussions, as did also several representatives of learned societies in the United States, some of whom are well known for their successful pursuit of historical and antiquarian studies. Two gentlemen, each of whom had been the mayor of the city, represented at the meeting the city of Bristol in England, the port from which Cabot sailed.

Your representatives were cordially welcomed by the Royal Society, and courteously and hospitably entertained during their stay in Halifax by its officers and the officials of the city and province. Our thanks are due especially to His Grace Archbishop O'Brien of Halifax, the President of the Royal Society, His Honor Lieutenant-Governor Daly, to the Mayor and Recorder of the city, and to Sir Sanford Fleming for their kindly courtesies, which added much to the interest and pleasure of our visit. The time of the meeting was coincident with that of the Queen's Jubilee celebration, which helped to fill Halifax with people and with ceremonies and pageants to give the city a holiday aspect.

Our attention was given especially to the meetings of the Historical Section of the Society, at which we listened to papers and oral discussions by scholars from Canada and the United States, mostly concerning the voyages of the Cabots, and particularly those questions which have long been the occasion of controversy: "What land was first seen by John Cabot and his companions on the western shore of the Atlantic on their first voyage in 1497?" and "What is the just estimate of Sebastian Cabot as a navigator and discoverer?"

Without attempting to give a summary or even a review of the discussions, I will venture to say that the weight of opinion seemed to be that John Cabot's land-fall was on the northeastern coast of Nova Scotia, and probably on Cape Breton Island. There were, however, advocates of a

land-fall on the coast of Labrador and of one on that of Newfoundland, and the President of the Society, Archbishop O'Brien, read a learned and ingenious paper proving, as he contended, that John Cabot passed between Newfoundland and the main without sighting either, and that the first land he saw was the northwestern coast of the island of Cape Breton.

As to Sebastian Cabot, though his character was not discussed at great length, I think I am justified in saying that the historical and antiquarian scholars at that meeting did not accept Mr. Henry Harrisse's estimate of him as a mere braggart, liar and charlatan, who gained such credit as he had by usurping for himself the merit of his father's enterprise and skill as a navigator.

After listening to what was said there and reading much of what has been written upon the subject, it seems to me at least a reasonable conjecture that as much of the honor for the voyage of 1497, by which the continent of North America was discovered and the name of Cabot made famous, belongs to the son as to the father and perhaps more.

Of John Cabot we know practically nothing, except that he made one voyage across the Atlantic and started upon another. Of his earlier life or his previous reputation as a navigator we have no knowledge.

Of Sebastian Cabot we know that he was associated with his father in King Henry the Seventh's patent; that he accompanied his father on both voyages; that he won or was conceded, and maintained through a long life, great distinction in Spain and England as a navigator and cartographer; that no letter, report or narrative written by himself or by his direction or authority describing his voyages is known, nor any map or chart which can be identified as his; that such accounts of his voyages to North America as we have, purport to be reports of conversations held with him many years after, in which he says little or

nothing of his father, but seems to claim the whole credit for himself.

If these reports, imperfect and doubtless more or less inaccurate, seem from one point of view to make plausible Mr. Harrisse's contemptuous estimate of Sebastian, they are from another consistent with the more charitable and equally reasonable conjecture that this man, who, if a charlatan, maintained his credit with his contemporaries and for some centuries afterward, and was not found out for four hundred years, was the actual originator and inspirer of that famous voyage, and that the patent was issued and the command given to the father because confidence was placed in his age and presumed experience, rather than in the ardor and enterprise of the adventurous youth. The fact that John Cabot's disappearance from history after starting on his second voyage was apparently unnoticed or disregarded makes this conjecture seem more probable. Edmund Burke said that to Sebastian Cabot Great Britain owed its claim to territory in North America. Recent historical scholars have thought that he erred in substituting the son's name for the father's, but perhaps he was right after all.

Rev. EDWARD G. PORTER said :—

I will not at this late hour attempt to add anything except that the chief object of this meeting of the Royal Society of Canada was to set up a memorial to John Cabot. They at first thought of Sydney and certain other adjacent places, for it should be said here that all Canadian scholars accept Cape Breton Island as the place of the land-fall. The President, in his very elaborate paper, is inclined to favor the northwest coast of the island. They wanted to have a statue or a tower or something that should be permanent and worthy of Cabot. As, however, there is no likeness of John Cabot, they finally decided to have a tablet and to place it in the Province building at Halifax. It

was carefully worded by Dr. John G. Bourinot and Dr. Samuel E. Dawson. They have not committed the Society to any particular theory of the land-fall. It might be either Labrador or Newfoundland or Cape Breton. They say "the northeastern seaboard of North America," and no one can dispute that. The tablet has been artistically prepared. At the top are the arms of England, the harbor of Bristol and a ship sailing away from it, also the arms of Bristol and of Venice, and the sun setting behind a hill in the distant west.

The occasion was certainly memorable, and there was a very large gathering of men who were exceedingly interested in the subject. Mr. Greene and I sat with the second or Historical Section. There were three Cabot papers. Mr. J. Boyd Thacher of Albany presented an interesting one landing Cabot somewhere near 60° North latitude. He puts him through the ice very easily. The difficulty in following Mr. Thacher in my mind is that his course is too straight and the measurement of distance too fixed. But it is an interesting contribution and will be printed with the Transactions. The paper by Dr. Dawson is virtually a reproduction of his well known monograph of 1894, which is a very careful and painstaking treatise. We all regretted the absence of Dr. Bourinot, who had been foremost in arranging for this meeting of the Royal Society.

I made the acquaintance of the two gentlemen from Bristol, ex-mayors Barker and Davies. They honored the occasion by coming and they told us much of the Bristol of Cabot's time as well as of to-day. During the same week the citizens of St. John's in Newfoundland were laying the corner-stone of a massive memorial tower on Signal Hill, a very commanding site. That is to be both an observatory and a meteorological tower. The two writers who now advocate the Newfoundland land-fall are Judge Prowse and Bishop Howley. The others have generally

forsaken that theory, although everyone allows that Cabot visited Newfoundland sometime on his first voyage.

I would also say that in London during the season there has been exhibited an interesting and artistic group representing John Cabot the elder and Sebastian his son,—John sitting, Sebastian standing by his side. It was modelled by John Cassidy, a young Irish sculptor, living at Manchester, and has been highly commended by the English critics. It is, I believe, the only thing which has ever been attempted in plastic art of either of the Cabots. I wish it could find a place in our country. It is very remarkable that until now,—the four hundredth anniversary of the voyage of discovery,—there has never been any Cabot memorial whatever in England or America. But now we are to have a fine tower at Bristol, this bronze tablet at Halifax and a tower at Newfoundland.

At the unveiling in Halifax a number of interesting addresses were made by the Governor-General, the Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia, the United States Consul-General and others. The delegate from Venice said that Venice was proud of her children and that among all those who had gone out on distant voyages the Cabots would be remembered as feathers—so to speak—from the winged lion of St. Mark flying away across the sea to a distant land, then utterly desolate, but now teeming with life and activity. He was loudly applauded, more so than any other speaker. He used excellent English and used it with true Italian fervor.

We were cordially entertained there, as Mr. Greene has said, in various ways, by a lunch, five-o'clock-teas, a harbor excursion and at a brilliant reception at the Government House, where we saw the officers of the army and navy and many of the representatives of Halifax society.

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE said :—

A year ago, when we were here, our senior Vice-President reported to us the condition and prospect of the

Bradford Manuscript. In the year which has passed we have had the great happiness of receiving the Manuscript in a stately ceremonial which was really worthy of the occasion, and I have prepared this resolution :

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be presented to our Vice-President, Senator HOAR, for the part which he has taken in returning the Bradford Manuscript to this country ; we recognize the value of his services from the beginning to the end, and assure him that his name will always be remembered by all patriots who use this first record of our public history.

This resolution was unanimously adopted.

Mr. SALISBURY, the PRESIDENT, cordially invited all members of the Society on adjournment to repair to his house and partake of a collation.

The meeting was dissolved, and the members enjoyed Mr. SALISBURY's hospitality in response to his invitation.

CHARLES A. CHASE,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council have the pleasure of reporting to the Society the completion of another year of prosperity and usefulness. For the detailed evidence of these conditions reference may be made to the accompanying reports of the Treasurer and the Librarian.

Since the semi-annual meeting, in April, the Council have been apprized of two deaths in the membership of the Society,—that of Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, a member of the Council for the last twenty-five years, and for the last twenty-three the Secretary for Foreign Correspondence, which occurred in Hartford, Connecticut, on August 5, 1897; and that of the Hon. Edward L. Pierce, who was elected to membership in October, 1892, who took part in the discussions at our last meeting in this room, and who died in Paris on September 7, 1897. An obituary notice of Mr. Pierce will be prepared by Vice-President Hoar for publication in the Proceedings.

Dr. Trumbull was elected to membership in April, 1855, and had consequently been associated with this Society for exactly one-half of the eighty-five years of its chartered existence, only five members of an earlier date being still borne upon our rolls. Suitable notice of the death of one so long a member and an officer of the Society was taken by the Council at a meeting held on October 2, the minutes of which will be prepared for publication; and the usual biographical memoranda are now presented.

James Hammond Trumbull was born in Stonington, Connecticut, on December 20, 1821. His father was Gurdon Trumbull, a man of rare balance and judgment, and of sound good sense. He held office as a Bank Commissioner in Connecticut, and afterwards as Commissioner

of the School Fund; and it was his interest in the early history of New England and the history of the American Indians, that first led his distinguished son to study in those lines. Gurdon Trumbull's father, John Trumbull of Norwich, was the editor and publisher of the *Norwich Packet* from its beginning in 1773 until his death in 1802. An elder brother of Gurdon, Henry Trumbull, was the author of a popular history of Indian wars; and another brother, Samuel, edited a newspaper in Stonington, where Gurdon was brought up and where he was postmaster under John Quincy Adams.

Dr. Trumbull's mother was Sally Ann Swan, daughter of Captain Thomas Swan of Stonington, and a descendant of several of the early settlers of that region, among them of Walter Palmer, from whom General Grant was also descended, and of Captain George Denison, a hero of the Parliamentary army, who was wounded at the battle of Naseby. A woman of unusual strength and sweetness of character, she impressed herself upon her children with the faculty of special sympathy with each in their special tastes and pursuits.

Our associate was of frail health in childhood, and was much indoors in his early life. He was prepared for college at Tracy's Academy in Norwich, Conn., and entered Yale in 1838, in his seventeenth year, but with mental attainments and capacities superior to those of most of his class. By the unusual range of his early reading also, and his exceptionally retentive memory, he was marked out from the first as a unique figure. Equally striking with his quickness and brilliancy, which speedily won universal admiration, were the lively sense of humor and love of fun and practical waggery which some of his classmates now recall as his most salient characteristics and which diverted him in part from the sober routine of the place. His brain already outgrew his strength, and in the earlier part of the Junior year he was obliged to withdraw from college.

For some time it seemed most improbable that he could ever resume study, but his own strength of will and his father's watchful devotion finally triumphed in his recovery. While debarred the use of books he turned to natural history for amusement, and assisted in perfecting the catalogues of the birds, fishes, reptiles and shells of Connecticut, compiled by the Rev. James H. Linsley (Yale College, 1817) and printed in the *American Journal of Science* in 1843 and 1844.

In 1847 he settled in Hartford, and for the next five years was assistant in the office of the Secretary of State. In the meantime he began the transcription of the early Colonial Records of Connecticut, the first volume of which (from 1636 to 1665) he edited and published at his own expense in March, 1850. A second volume (from 1665 to 1677) appeared in April, 1852. He was nominated for Secretary of State on the Whig ticket in 1852 and defeated; and declined the same nomination in 1853 and 1854. In 1854 he was appointed to the new office of State Librarian and was made a member of a committee to compile the Statute Laws of the State.

In August, 1855, he married Miss Sarah A. Robinson of Hartford, and the following year he spent in travel in Europe and the East. He was again assistant to the Secretary of State from 1858 to 1861, and during this time issued, in March, 1859, the third volume of his transcript of the Public Records of the Colony (from 1678 to 1689), the further continuation of which was left to our associate, Dr. Charles J. Hoadly. In 1861 he was elected Secretary of State on the Republican ticket, and retained that office by annual re-elections for five years.

In the meantime he had been appointed in 1862 one of the Board of Trustees and the Librarian of the Watkinson Library of Reference, recently established in connection with the Connecticut Historical Society in Hartford, by a

bequest of Mr. David Watkinson. Here from the first he was charged with the responsibility for the selection and purchase of books; and when the Library was opened to the public in August, 1866, he assumed the active duties of Librarian. The service which he accomplished for Hartford and for a wider public in gathering that exceedingly choice collection of books can hardly be overestimated. He remained in full charge of the Library until the end of 1890, when his resignation on account of impaired health was accepted, and his title changed to Librarian *emeritus*.

His private studies and special interests included an unusually wide circle of knowledge. Natural history, especially conchology, early attracted him. For a time also mathematics seemed his special forte, and cipher-reading and cipher-writing remained always a delightful recreation. He inherited an ardent love for New England history, and identified himself at once on his removal to Hartford with the Connecticut Historical Society, which he served as Corresponding Secretary from May, 1848, until his election to the Presidency in 1863. The latter office he filled until his refusal to accept a re-election in 1889. About 1853 he became interested in the study of the American Indian languages, beginning with the Massachusetts dialect into which John Eliot made his translations. His studies in this field were laborious in the extreme, long continued, and exhaustive, and gave him for many years in the mind of the general public the easily remembered reputation of being the only person living who could read Eliot's Indian Bible. This claim to distinction became annoying to its subject and ceased as time went on to have even the semblance of truth which once belonged to it, but the fact will remain that here Dr. Trumbull was both the most noted pioneer and the most thoroughly equipped worker of his generation in a difficult field which has tempted few explorers.

He was known to all his friends as a bibliographer of distinguished acquirements, and in this respect his connection with our late associate, Mr. George Brinley, brought him prominently into notice. He had long been the intimate friend and trusted adviser of Mr. Brinley, at whose death in 1875 the duty devolved on him, as literary executor, of cataloguing and arranging for sale that marvelous American library, the dispersal of which in 1879-93 was so notable an event for book-buyers. The catalogue, in its perfection of detail and wide range of curious subsidiary knowledge, will always rank as an authority among bibliographical aids to American history. This perfection of detail, in what was at first thought intended merely for immediate use as an auction catalogue, suggests a main characteristic of the whole of Dr. Trumbull's literary work, which was symbolized even in his handwriting, neat and regular as copperplate,—namely, his unwillingness to rest satisfied with anything short of absolute accuracy and finish in whatever he gave to the public. One result of this high standard was that he was thus tempted to withhold from final shape much that he was admirably qualified to contribute to the common stock of historical learning. The books that he wrote were few and slender, and mainly, I suppose, from a dread of having to venture on some unfortified statements which some other scholar might in the future be obliged to question; though his daily occupations were (until too late) so engrossing that he might well have pleaded this as his excuse. Nevertheless, the amount of his published work, though by no means what he might have given us, is not inconsiderable. Besides his contributions to the Proceedings of our own Society, the most important of which was his Council Report in October, 1873, on the "Origin and Early Progress of Indian Missions in New England," his most notable separately printed works are these: A paper on "The Origin

of McFingal," reprinted from the *Historical Magazine*, January, 1868; one on the "Composition of Indian Geographical Names," from the Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, 1870; five valuable papers on subjects connected with the Indian languages of North America, from the Transactions of the American Philological Association for 1869-72; "Historical Notes on the Constitutions of Connecticut, 1639-1818," 1873; and "Indian Names in Connecticut," 1881.

He edited, with copious introductions and notes, a reprint of Roger Williams's "Key into the Language of America," for the Narraganset Club in 1866; Thomas Lechford's "Plain Dealing," in 1867; Abraham Pierson's Indian Catechism, for the Connecticut Historical Society in 1873; and "The True-Blue Laws of Connecticut and New Haven and the False Blue-Laws invented by the Rev. Samuel Peters," in 1876. His name also appears as the editor of the "Memorial History of Hartford County," published in two volumes in 1886, but it is understood that his assistance in this work was limited to a partial reading of the proof-sheets. The first volume of his edition of the Colonial Records, issued when he was twenty-eight years old, established on a firm basis his reputation as an exact historical scholar. Three months later, in June, 1850, he was elected a Corresponding Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and in August received the degree of Master of Arts from Yale College. Of the Historical Society he lived to be the oldest member in order of election. Yale was proud in 1862 to enroll him in the ranks of his former college class, and in 1871 gave him the degree of LL.D., which was given him by Harvard in 1887, in which year also he was made Doctor of Letters (L.H.D.) at Columbia. He was appointed Lecturer on the Indian Languages of North America at Yale in 1873, and held the office until 1885, but was not called upon for any duties. Of his connection with learned societies it

may be enough to add that he was chosen a member of the American Oriental Society in 1860; was one of the original members of the American Philological Association in 1869, and its President for the year 1894-95; and was elected to the National Academy of Sciences in 1872.

Dr. Trumbull's latest contribution to our Proceedings was the Report of the Council in October, 1884, including "First Essays at Banking and the First Paper-money in New England," one of the incidental subjects which he had studied exhaustively; and the meeting of October, 1885, was the last that he attended. After retiring from his duties at the Watkinson Library in 1890 he left Hartford but seldom, and steadily grew more feeble. An attack of the grip in the early summer of the present year weakened him still further, and a day or two of unconsciousness was followed by his death at his home in Hartford, on August 5, in his 76th year. His widow and only child, a daughter, survive him.

Those of us who knew him in his prime can never forget his striking personality,—suggestive perhaps of the aboriginal race whose tongue he had done so much to preserve,—the overflowing fulness and allusiveness of his conversation, often by his auditor's choice in the form of a monologue, and the pungency of his wit. His writings display his characteristic accuracy in minute details and the wonderful range of his knowledge. Sometimes he may have seemed at his happiest in pricking some historic bubble or in tracking to its source some odd linguistic usage; but these were rather the occasional diversions of an incessantly active mind, while his solid contributions to the sum of human learning, though unfortunately limited in amount, are substantially worthy of his fame and of the best standards of American scholarship. He held a unique place in our republic of letters, and his death has left a wide gap in the list of those American scholars whose work is known and prized on both sides the Atlantic.

At a special meeting of the Council, held October 2, 1897, President SALISBURY spoke as follows :—

Gentlemen of the Council of the American Antiquarian Society:

I have the sad duty to call your attention to the great loss the Society has met in the death of our associate, the Honorable James Hammond Trumbull, LL.D., of Hartford, Connecticut, a member since April, 1855, a Councillor since 1872, and Secretary of Foreign Correspondence since 1874. He died at Hartford, August 5, 1897, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

Dr. Trumbull was a leading American scholar, well known throughout this country and Europe for his knowledge of history, science, genealogy and literature. He was especially versed in the languages of the North American Indians and was the highest known authority in that department.

The service of Dr. Trumbull to the Society was conspicuous in frequent participation in discussions at stated meetings and in monographs on historical points of interest, generally relating to the colonial period. Among the titles of his communications we find, "The Name Massachusetts," October, 1867; "Remarks on Indian Inscriptions," October, 1870; "Japanese Admixture in the Northwest," April, 1872; "List of Books and Tracts in the Indian Language, printed in Cambridge and Boston from 1653 to 1721," October, 1873; and on "The Christian Name of José Glover," April, 1875.

Dr. Trumbull prepared the Report of the Council in October, 1873, and chose as his subject "John Eliot and his Works," giving new light on the life of this apostle of civilization. In October, 1884, Dr. Trumbull again and for the last time read the Report of the Council upon "New and Supplementary Facts in regard to early Paper Money," and gave a very learned commentary on the early money of the colony.

The frequent attendance of Dr. Trumbull at our meetings and his readiness to assist our members in special investigations endeared him to his associates, while his extended reputation for learning and for correct historic criticism was of great value to the Society.

Vice-President HOAR said :—

In the death of our late Secretary for Foreign Correspondence, Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, the Antiquarian Society laments the loss of one of its oldest and most distinguished members.

Being led by circumstances and by inherited tastes to devote his early attention to American history, his stores of accurate and comprehensive knowledge made him for the latter half of his long life one of the foremost authorities in that large field, down to the minutest details. A special aptitude for the study of language was exercised notably in the domain of the neglected dialects of the American Indians, of which he became an acknowledged master and the chief exponent in his generation. Gifted with unusual powers of observation, with an exceptionally retentive memory, with a rare discrimination both for facts and principles, and with a true genius for patient labor, he held his many-sided knowledge at quick command, and was generous beyond expectation in his help to countless other workers in widely various lines of inquiry.

As a Society we took a just pride in his eminence in those studies which it is one of our objects to foster, and we are distinctly the poorer as his name passes from our living membership.

Mr. SAMUEL SWETT GREEN said :—

It has been a common experience of persons making investigations to find themselves greatly aided by the books and papers printed by Mr. Trumbull.

The President has spoken of his service in unfolding the

significance of the name Massachusetts. I remember that I felt a thrill of delight when, many years ago, I took up one of the early numbers of "Old and New," a magazine which it will be remembered was edited by our associate, Dr. Hale, and found in it a learned and most satisfactory article on the meaning of the Algonkin term Manitou, which gave to it a signification conformable to the primitive notions of the North American Indians instead of the common definition which called for ideas in those peoples which belong only to a high state of civilization.

It has been a great privilege to be able to send to Mr. Trumbull to find out the meaning of an Indian name. Thus in connection with the account of the two hundredth anniversary of the naming of the town of Worcester, in 1884, it gives added interest to the admirable oration of our distinguished associate, Mr. Hoar, to find appended to his mention of the early name of Worcester, Quinsigamond, a copy of a letter from such an authority as Mr. Trumbull, giving different forms of the word and showing that its meaning is fishing place for pickerel.

Not only as a philologist did Mr. Trumbull make us a grateful debtor, but as an antiquary. When making an investigation in early Massachusetts history it always has proved most profitable to hunt up any illustrative matter that he had prepared. I remember with gratitude that when making such an investigation I found exact and full information regarding writings of John Cotton and certain other ecclesiastical worthies of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay in notes to his edition of "Lechford's Plain Dealing."

In his knowledge of Americana Mr. Trumbull was perhaps unsurpassed. Nobody interested in early American publications can be without his catalogue of the books of our late associate, George Brinley, made when they were offered for sale by auction. Mr. Trumbull did a valuable work as librarian also. To say nothing of his labors while for a short time librarian of the State Library of Connecti-

cut, he did excellent service in bringing together the important collection of books in the Watkinson Library in Hartford. I spent two days in examining the library twenty-five or more years ago, and was struck at that time with its richness in various directions. It was particularly valuable even then, in the departments of philology. Within two or three years, finding that some of the large libraries could send me no books to give information regarding Esquimaux notation, I sent to the Watkinson Library and there procured several volumes which furnished satisfactorily the knowledge sought for.

MR. NATHANIEL PAINE also made a few remarks, alluding to his long and pleasant acquaintance with Dr. Trumbull, and to his indebtedness to him for valuable information freely given at various times. He said that Dr. Trumbull rendered our late librarian, Dr. Haven, great assistance in preparing for the press his *Ante-Revolutionary Publications*, published with the second edition of Thomas's *History of Printing*. He called special attention to Dr. Trumbull's bibliographical work, conspicuous in the preparation of the Brinley catalogue, a work of the greatest value to all interested in early American imprints, and to all persons who are pursuing bibliographical studies. The librarians of the country very gratefully acknowledge their indebtedness to Dr. Trumbull, and consider his publications as most valuable books of reference.

For the Council,

FRANKLIN B. DEXTER.

AN HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE POWERS AND
DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENCY IN
YALE COLLEGE.

BY FRANKLIN B. DEXTER.

MY OBJECT in the present paper is to offer a brief historical view of the development of the powers and functions of the presidential office in Yale College, and I desire at the outset to emphasize the statement that I limit myself strictly to the domain of historical fact, with no bearing on current controversies or on theoretical conditions.

The corporate existence of the institution now known as Yale University dates from the month of October, 1701, when "A Collegiate School" was chartered by the General Assembly of Connecticut. This action was in response to a petition then received, emanating primarily from certain Congregational pastors of the Colony, who had been in frequent consultation and had by a more or less formal act of giving books already taken the precaution to constitute themselves founders of the embryo institution.

Under this Act of Incorporation or Charter, seven of the ten Trustees named met a month later, determined on a location for the enterprise (at Saybrook), and among other necessary steps invited one of the eldest of their number, the Reverend Abraham Pierson, a Harvard graduate, "under the title and character of Rector," to take the care of instructing and ordering the Collegiate School. The title of "Collegiate School" was avowedly adopted from policy, as less pretentious than that to which the usage at Harvard for sixty years had accustomed them, and there-

fore less likely to give excuse for interference on the part of any outside authority ; and the title of Rector instead of President followed a similar design. The duties assigned to the Rector were mainly concerned with the direct instruction of students ; while the subjects and mode of instruction, as well as the general course of discipline, were carefully prescribed beforehand by the Trustees themselves. The instruction by the Rector thus provided for was intended mainly for the Senior class, besides which he was expected to expound (as was the practice of the Harvard President) a portion of scripture before the assembled students at morning and evening prayers. His responsibility for enforcing the general laws and orders of the Trustees he shared from the first with a Tutor. It may be noted that this limitation of the powers of the head of the College was totally dissimilar to what the Trustees as graduates of Harvard were accustomed to in that seminary ; and possibly this was due in part to their observation of the independent course of Increase Mather, then President of Harvard, and their purpose not to be ruled after like fashion by any President or Rector whom they might select. This system—of a Rector and one Tutor—continued until Pierson's death in 1707. The records and traditions of this brief period—less than six years—are too meagre and indistinct to throw much light on the first Rector's personality and work. It is clear, however, that he was second only to James Pierpont in leadership among the early Trustees, and a man of positive characteristics, who held the respect of his colleagues and of the constituency which stood behind the new enterprise. Unable in his brief term of service to divest himself (as he had expected) of the cares of a parish, he had little opportunity to make any lasting personal impression on the development of the College, or even to illustrate his own ideals.

On his sudden death the Rectorship was committed nominally to another Trustee, the Rev. Samuel Andrew of

Milford; but it is evident that he from his more distant residence undertook merely the perfunctory obligation of serving as referee for the Tutors who were left in charge of instruction at Saybrook, and of occasional journeys thither to advise in special emergencies, or to preside and sign diplomas at Commencement. This temporary arrangement continued, however, for a dozen years,—a time of large responsibility for the Tutors, of sharp internal dissensions among the Trustees (on the question of the permanent site of the College), and of insignificant numbers in the student body, which never rose as high as forty. It is clear that Rector Andrew minimized his office and in nowise put himself forward, either as a leader in the deliberations of his colleagues, or as the ultimate authority in the government of the students. During the bitter struggle which resulted in removal to New Haven, he exercised no influence beyond siding mildly with the New Haven party; and on the only occasion of special note during his rectorship, the jubilant celebration of the first Commencement at New Haven, in 1718, he took no noticeable part. It is hardly possible to conceive of a more colorless administration of the office than his, or of one with less influence in determining the tenor and scope of the powers and duties involved; and this is perhaps the more remarkable as he had undoubtedly been chosen in part because of his early experience as a Fellow of Harvard College for five years (1679–84) at a time of special responsibility, including two vacancies in the presidency.

The year 1718 saw the school thus settled in New Haven, and the name of Yale College assigned to it, in pursuance of a friendly suggestion of Cotton Mather and in recognition of the bounty of Elihu Yale. At the next Commencement the first attempt was made that we hear of since Pierson's death to fill the rectorship, still held after a *pro tempore* fashion by Mr. Andrew; and the attempt was connected with the desire to attract the seceding students

who, after the abandonment of Saybrook, had migrated to Wethersfield and set up there a rival school, under the care of a resident clergyman, the Rev. Elisha Williams. Overtures were first made to Mr. Henry Flynt, long remembered as "Tutor Flynt" from his tenure of that office in Harvard College for the unprecedented term of fifty-five years; and on his declination resort was had, provisionally, in March, 1719, to the Rev. Timothy Cutler, a native of Massachusetts and a Harvard graduate, now thirty-five years old, and for the past nine years pastor of the Congregational Church in Stratford, Connecticut. As a son-in-law of Rector Andrew his selection was acceptable in that quarter; but not without misgivings was it sanctioned temporarily by a majority of the Trustees, by some of whom it may have been at least suspected that one reason of his willingness to leave the pastorate was an awakening doubt of the validity of Congregational ordination. A preliminary trial of ten weeks' service proved satisfactory, and the new Rector was then confirmed in his office with general approbation. In the arrangements for his support was included the payment of a degree-fee of twenty shillings from every student at graduation—a form of perquisite which had been proposed long before by Rector Pierson, but was now first voted, and has ever since pertained to the Presidential office.

Rector Cutler was also acceptable to the General Assembly of the Colony, and at their first session in New Haven after his settlement they voted to free his estate from taxation as long as he retained the Rectorship. This arrangement was continued substantially for over a century, and then abandoned by common consent. A little later the Assembly devoted the proceeds of a special brief, and the import duty on rum for two years, to the expense of building a house for the Rector, which had been in contemplation from the time of the first suggestion of removal to New Haven.

The house was completed at Commencement in 1722, but not for Timothy Cutler's occupation, for he signalized that occasion by an avowal of belief in Episcopal ordination—a change so violent in the eyes of that generation as to leave room for no other action on the part of the Trustees than his immediate dismissal. In his case, even more truly than in that of Rector Pierson, the time was too brief to admit of his personal character making any permanent mark on the office or on the institution. But his later career, in charge of a Church of England mission in Boston, betrayed an imperious, narrow and quarrelsome spirit, ill adapted to the successful ordering of a college community or the consolidation of power in the presidential office. After this mortifying experience Mr. Andrew shrank from holding even his former semblance of authority; and more temporary arrangements for monthly supervision by the Trustees in rotation were resorted to, while another Rector was looked for. The quest occupied three weary years, and among those who were offered the place in vain were the head-master of the Boston Latin School, Dr. Nathaniel Williams; the first Professor of Divinity in Harvard College, Edward Wigglesworth; two of the Yale Trustees, the Rev. Eliphalet Adams and the Rev. William Russell; and probably, also, in a less formal way, William Smith, Esquire, of New York, a recent and popular tutor. To an old resident of Boston like Dr. Williams, or one holding a life appointment at Harvard like Professor Wigglesworth, a removal to New Haven must have seemed like exile in the wilderness, with few compensating advantages; while the parishioners of Adams and Russell were obdurate in refusals to release the ministers of their choice. The General Assembly expressed a keen interest in the search, and on being appealed to at this juncture for the construction of certain ambiguous points in the College charter, with reference to the provisions for a quorum and for replacing incompetent or absentee Trustees, they went

beyond the letter of the appeal, and of their own motion passed an explanatory act or addition to the charter (in 1723) which met these questions, and among other supplementary regulations provided that the Rector should henceforth be *ex officio* a Trustee during the time of his rectorship. Such a provision was an entirely natural one, and agreeable to the precedents at Harvard; but it had not been suggested by the Trustees themselves, and was so far from being acceptable to them that it was sturdily ignored until five years later.

In 1725 a new Rector was at last found in the person of the same Rev. Elisha Williams of Wethersfield, who had already proved his capacity as an acceptable teacher to the disaffected remnant which had long resisted the settlement of the College at New Haven. He was a younger man than most who had been thought of for the office, in full vigor, of a prolific, widely influential and aristocratic family stock with its chief seat in the valley of the Connecticut, acceptable to the political leaders of the Colony, and secure in the respect of all his clerical brethren. He was inducted into office in September, 1726, and bore himself so graciously that after two years the Trustees silently waived their scruples on the point of prerogative, conformed to the Assembly's Act of five years before, and enrolled the Rector as one of their own body, *ex officio*. Their ultimate surrender was certain, but that it was no longer postponed is a significant testimony to Mr. Williams's tact and prudence. But not until nearly ten years later did he so far establish himself in his place as to be called on to preside in the meetings of the corporation—a duty assigned thenceforth to the Rector.

The most notable incident of Mr. Williams's term of office was a remarkable series of gifts from Dean, afterwards Bishop, Berkeley, in favoring the acceptance of which the Rector showed his large-mindedness, while other responsible advisers were counselling rejection through

fear of a proselyting design. For thirteen years Rector Williams remained in office with undiminished favor, and his retirement at the early age of forty-four was professedly due to impaired health, though there were those who believed him influenced by ambitions of a wider sphere in civil life. He survived during a long subsequent career of varied and excellent service to the State; and this maturer period showed, on a more conspicuous stage than college walls afforded, his remarkably versatile powers, his capacity for leadership, and his rare social graces.

A new Rector was found without delay, selected partly, there is some reason to think, on Rector Williams's recommendation, namely, Thomas Clap, the parish minister of Windham, in the northeastern county of the Colony. A Harvard graduate, now in his thirty-seventh year, he had come especially into notice among his fellow-clergy as a pillar of rigid orthodoxy in eastern Connecticut, and conspicuously firm and systematic in the administration of discipline in his church and congregation. Posterity cannot doubt that the choice was a wise one, ensuring a long period of orderly development and consolidation. The change, however, from Rector Williams to Rector Clap was not in all respects an advance, the former being on the whole a man of broader and more generous sympathies, while Clap was fundamentally narrow and comparatively provincial in his instincts and prejudices. The new Rector's energy made itself felt at once, in more stringent discipline and a larger insistence on the public notice. Immediately also he began an agitation for a new college building. But the change of régime as shown in the records of the Corporation's meetings is perhaps most striking. Rector Williams, originally present by sufferance only, had never gained the advantage of an entirely free position; while Clap from the outset assumed as of right the place of leader—though the youngest in years of the whole body,—and by beginning to mould at once the policy of

the institution soon reaped the benefit of his confident audacity. His great achievement was a remodelling of the charter, which he carried through the corporation in 1744, and through the General Assembly in 1745, at a time when that body was favorably impressed by his agreement with them in regard to putting down lawless "New Lights" in theology. By all odds the most significant and most far-reaching provision of the revised instrument was the transformation of the Board of Trustees, of which the Rector was a recent and undistinguished member, into a new corporation, styled the President and Fellows—the President (that is, the former Rector) being the centre and head of the whole, and the rest of the Board (that is, the ten successors of the original Trustees) his coadjutors or Fellows—a tremendously momentous revolution, marking an authorized though perhaps unrealized transfer of the seat of power, which would probably have been thwarted a few years earlier, when those of the older generation of Trustees who retained with more force and tenacity the original conception of their office were still active in the counsels of the Corporation. I view this revision as a turning point in the fortunes of the College. Under the charter as it was, the assumed power of the Rector, such as Clap was wielding, rested on no stable foundation. After nearly fifty years that officer was still in law merely an upper hired servant or resident agent of the Trustees, subject to peremptory dismissal with or without cause by a majority of those who had appointed* him, while the office itself might be abolished at pleasure. The revised instrument proceeded on a wholly different theory and created what was practically a new office, no longer one of instruction but one of government wholly, to which was transferred a large share of the responsibility assumed in the beginning by the founders. The ultimate responsibility was of course still left with the whole body, as the appointment of a President remained in their hands; but when once chosen

his authority was paramount and his position practically unassailable, except (like the rest of the Board) "for Misdemeanor, Unfaithfulness, Default, or Incapacity." For this concentration of power and responsibility, which has throughout approved itself in practice, the College is indebted to the strong will and astuteness of Thomas Clap, and the institution is to be counted fortunate in having secured at so early a day official sanction for a mode of development which has so fully met her needs.

One immediate fruit of the President's new powers was a revision of the laws for undergraduate students, which had hitherto followed closely in form and substance the statutes made by the Trustees at the beginning, but were now completely remodelled, in accordance with the President's experience, aided by a study of all available precedents. The general drift of this revision was in the direction of more precise and definite enactments. The course of study was prescribed in more detail, with a larger provision for mathematical training, in accordance with Clap's strongly held convictions of the importance of that branch of learning.

Other evidences of the President's activity consequent on the new charter were the adoption of a plan for the founding of the earliest Professorship in the College and the beginning of a new college building, of brick, still standing. Under his lead, also, a decision was arrived at in 1753 for setting up separate Sunday worship for the College congregation, followed by the organization of a College Church—steps which had a great influence on Yale life, but which cost the President the favor of the General Assembly,—such changes being understood as a practical abandonment of the position which he had been supposed to hold, of support of the Connecticut parish system, and opposition to what was known as separatism and the existence of separate churches. The dissatisfaction on these grounds and on others connected with his general mode of

administering College discipline was wide-spread and outspoken, and as early as 1756 there began to be rumors of a visitation of the College, ordered by the Legislature, as the source of its charter, with the object of checking Clap's arbitrary and imperious course towards students, Corporation and Assembly alike. These threats culminated in 1763 in a formal petition for such action, which was advocated before the Assembly by as able counsel as the Colony afforded, and was successfully opposed single-handed by the alert and wary old President, whose victory on legal grounds was complete and permanent. But his victories were not won without personal loss. His bluntness and arbitrariness were bitterly uncomfortable both to his Fellows in the Corporation and to the students and their guardians; and after upwards of twenty-six years of unremitting and ill-requited service his sun went down in gloom. The size of the classes in his last years diminished sensibly, the undergraduates were encouraged by outside influence to riotous behavior, there was a conspiracy to prevent the filling of the tutorships; and baffled and defeated the old hero finally resigned his office, voluntarily, but almost of necessity, in 1766, at the age of sixty-three, and his death followed pathetically within four months' time. Any summary of his services should mention also his organization of government by the Faculty, which became ultimately a marked feature of the development of the College, though under his dominant leadership the participation of the Tutors in Faculty deliberations was far more a matter of form than of reality. The language of the laws drawn up by Clap in 1745 was that "The Executive Power of this College is principally in the President, who hath power to govern the College and every student thereof [etc.], provided that in all cases of difficulty and importance he shall consult and advise with the Tutors"; but the students readily perceived that practically the power was all lodged in the President's hands, and at a

late date in Clap's presidency they sought relief by moving the Corporation to authorize *appeals* to their body from the subjects of Faculty discipline. Clap opposed this request as tending to weaken the resident authority, and characteristically carried his point by bringing the Corporation to vote to receive *petitions* only, but not appeals.

An attempt was made to fill Clap's place by the election as President of one of the Fellows, the Rev. James Lockwood, but he declined the offer, and as the most natural makeshift the Rev. Naphtali Daggett, the incumbent of the only professorial chair, that of Divinity, was made President *pro tempore*, and officiated on these terms for eleven years. Though this period was not without expansion in some directions, and contributed notably to the dignifying of the tutorship, through the illustrious examples of some who held that office, it had no significance or value in the development of the Presidency.

In 1777, at a time of great national discouragements, the Rev. Dr. Ezra Stiles, one of the most eminent living graduates, who had also served successfully under Clap as tutor and had imbibed much of his spirit of devotion to the College, was called with universal approval to the Presidential office. A liberal theologian (for his time), a scholar of multifarious learning and unflagging industry, a man of wide personal acquaintance and avowedly the choice of the leaders in the General Assembly, he was especially relied on to heal the breach between the State and the College which had resulted from Clap's loss of popularity, and to inspire the public with renewed confidence. In the main these hopes were justified, and due allowance being made for the adverse effects of deep poverty and of public depression, the institution flourished in numbers and in prestige during the seventeen years of Dr. Stiles's administration, the graduating classes for that time exceeding slightly in size the corresponding classes at Harvard. A complete university was one of the President's ideals, and

at the earliest possible moment after the settlement of public affairs, in 1783, he secured the appointment of an agent to gather subscriptions for professorships of law and medicine, with the design of emphasizing thus the university idea, but the time was not ripe for so large a plan.

It was owing in part to his large-minded reasonableness that an arrangement with the State, by the powerful aid of the Treasurer of the College, the Hon. James Hillhouse, was finally arrived at in 1792, by which, in return for the admission of the Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor and six Senators into the corporation, certain substantial benefits were conferred on the College, including funds for a new dormitory and provision for future professorships which were established in the next administration. This form of union with the State had been proposed in connection with Dr. Stiles's accession, in 1778, but was distrusted at first by the Corporation, who looked on it as a partial surrender of the ground so insistently held by President Clap in his argument against visitation. Dr. Stiles lived on the most harmonious terms with the tutors in the Faculty and took their advice informally on matters of common concern; but he magnified his office, and of formal meetings of the Faculty and so of government by the Faculty in his time there is no trace. With all his outstanding excellencies Dr. Stiles did not vie with his great predecessor in the rôle of an innovator, nor was he ever quite sensible of the democratic changes resulting from the Revolution. Venerable beyond his years, even at his accession, though in years also he outnumbered those who had preceded and the most of those who have followed him in his office, the prevailing note of his administration was conservatism rather than progress, and with the single exception of alliance with the State the distinct advances accomplished in his day were all on lines laid down by Clap; and although under his care the professoriate was slightly enlarged, the course of study somewhat broadened, and

the fame of the College further extended, his administration was not one which the best friends of the institution could desire to have continue beyond its natural limit. And the vacancy caused by his sudden death in 1795 was filled with promptness by the election of a neighboring Connecticut pastor, Timothy Dwight, who had abundantly proved his rare skill as a teacher and whom Dr. Stiles himself had long viewed, not without jealousy, as his own probable successor.

The very antipodes of Dr. Stiles in intellectual equipment and interests, with his face towards the future instead of the past, we date the beginning of the modern period of the College history from the advent of Dr. Dwight. He found the College in essentials the same institution which the Trustees of a century earlier had roughly shaped, and which Rector Clap had settled into a permanent groove, and it was Dr. Dwight's fortunate opportunity, in sympathy with the awakening spirit of the time, to introduce the era of expansion on university lines which is still in progress. Besides his peculiar gifts as an instructor and preacher, by his sagacity and promptness in attaching young men of promise to the permanent service of the College, and his readiness to appreciate and to utilize the opportunities for the establishment of a group of professional schools, he made himself specially remembered. It is true that, in regard to the latter point, he was privileged in his lifetime to see but one of these schools, the Medical Institution, in active operation, but the germ of the Law School was planted by the appointment of a Professor of Law, and the Divinity School which was begun a little later was equally within his plan, and it is owing to his practical wisdom that as these were established the precedent was effectively settled of rendering each from the outset in its finances and its internal government wholly independent of the original Academical Department or College and of every other department. It

was natural, however, from the historical relations of things, that as these new departments were added the President was less concerned in their immediate management than in that of the original undergraduate college; and it was just also that undergraduate college instruction should continue to absorb the main part of his time and energy, as the whole of his official income was drawn from undergraduate academical funds.

Dr. Dwight was eminent among all who have held the presidency for his commanding personal influence, and his confident joy in the exercise of this gift led him to rely upon it in matters of College discipline, to the exclusion to a large extent of judgments by the Faculty. The same quality made itself felt also to a degree before unknown in welding together the alumni and making of their united loyalty a new and hopeful source of strength.

In filling President Dwight's place at his death, in 1817, a new departure (new at least for Yale) was made, of the highest value for the prosperity of the College. The Corporation made one effort, happily in vain, to secure for the Presidency a graduate of some distinction from outside, and then advanced to that position a modest member of the Academic Faculty, who had shared Dr. Dwight's counsels for the most of his administration and was known to the great body of the graduates as a part of their College life. A large share of what Yale College has accomplished in the eighty years since President Day's election is referable to a continuance of the same policy, in maintaining the identity of the institution and holding the sympathies of the alumni under a succession of chief officers promoted from the corps of instruction and so in some measure practically familiar from their experience with the conditions of their new work.

President Day, whose term of office continued from 1817 to 1846, had no such dominating personality as Dr. Dwight, and his relations with the College Faculty, the

leading members of which were his contemporaries in age and his lifelong associates, were naturally on a different footing. Though nominally since 1745 the Faculty had been recognized as sharing to a certain extent at least the executive power with the President, it was not until Dr. Day's administration that this responsibility was conceded in its full significance and put in practical exercise. After Rector Clap's remodelling of the charter no change affecting the distribution of power of equal moment with this has to be chronicled. Besides this notable entrance of the College Faculty under President Day into its legitimate domain as the joint arbiter of discipline, another concrete instance of his judicious policy was the gradual development of the unwritten law which has since obtained in all ordinary cases that in matters of other than financial importance affecting any department, such as the appointment of a new officer or the establishment of a new course of study, the Corporation will act only on the reception of a nomination or recommendation from the permanent officers of the department concerned. By such an understanding the responsibility of the Corporation is unimpaired, while a necessary and sufficient stimulus is supplied for the interest and concern of the several Faculties in the best development of the institution. An incidental illustration of the same policy and of the consequent relation of the Faculty to the growth of the College, is that the Faculty originated and carried through, with the President's full approbation and support, the first movement at Yale for a general subscription to the College funds, that known as the \$100,000 fund of 1831. After the longest Presidency which the College has yet known, with grave judiciousness and peaceful continuity as its distinctive notes, President Day retired to private life, at the age of seventy-three, in 1846.

His successor, President Woolsey, had already served for years as a Professor, and his transfer to a new office

involved no change in the general principles of government to which the College was accustomed, and the same words may be used with relation to both the subsequent holders of the office, President Porter and the present head of the University. The most important change in the duties of the chair grows out of the expansion of recent years into a University, with added departments and multiplied interests, which has rendered it impossible for the presiding officer longer to undertake such an amount of teaching as his predecessors had from choice continued to give, though the statutory obligation to class-room work ceased absolutely at the revision of the charter in 1745. The specially close relation, however, of the President with the internal administration and discipline of the undergraduate college department which has hitherto continued, even subsequent to the virtual disuse of the teaching function, may perhaps be destined to be soon severed, especially as the University funds now provide for the salary attached to his office. In the future, no doubt, general executive and administrative duties will prove more and more absorbing, and the personal influence of the President on the individual student, which counted for so much in the century spanned by Stiles, Dwight, Day, Woolsey, and Porter, will be distinctly missed in the group of educational forces offered at Yale. But in forecasting the future I am wandering from the historian's function, to which I am limited, and I need only add that my purpose is fulfilled by this brief outline of facts.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society herewith presents his annual report, showing the receipts and expenditures for the year ending October 1, 1897.

While the Publishing Fund shows a slight gain for the year, the cost (not yet paid) of publishing the last number of the "Proceedings," which was an unusually large one, will reduce the Fund to something less than it was a year ago.

The total of the fourteen funds shows a slight gain for the year, and the reserve income account is \$963.77. The amount of income carried to the several funds for the year was five per cent.

The detailed statement of the several Funds is as follows.

The total of the investments and cash on hand October 1, 1897, was \$130,288.71. It is divided among the several funds as follows :

The Librarian's and General Fund,.....	\$37,250.32
The Collection and Research Fund,.....	17,716.53
The Bookbinding Fund,.....	6,115.27
The Publishing Fund,.....	26,384.60
The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund,.....	9,241.30
The Lincoln Legacy Fund,.....	4,499.80
The Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund,.....	1,085.70
The Salisbury Building Fund,.....	4,861.66
The Alden Fund,	1,004.20
The Tenney Fund,	5,000.00
The Haven Fund,.....	1,238.96
The George Chandler Fund,.....	530.41
The Francis H. Dewey Fund,	3,084.69
The George E. Ellis Fund,	11,195.56
Income Account,	963.77
Premium Account,	115.94
	\$130,288.71

The cash on hand, included in the following statement, is \$2,933.22.

The detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the year ending October 1, 1897, is as follows :

DR.

1896.	Oct. 2.	Balance of cash per last report,.....	\$671.03
1897.	Oct. 1.	Income from investments to date,	6,859.30
"	"	Received for annual assessments,.....	60.00
"	"	Life membership,	50.00
"	"	From sale of books,	169.75
"	"	Mortgage notes paid,	1,850.00
"	"	Drawn from savings bank,.....	100.00
			<hr/>
			\$9,760.08

CR.

By salaries to October 1, 1897,.....	\$3,779.91
Publication of Proceedings,.....	681.13
Books purchased,.....	228.19
Incidental expenses,.....	233.80
For binding,.....	186.25
Insurance premium,.....	306.50
Repairs,.....	28.58
For coal,.....	382.50
Invested in first Mortgage Notes,.....	1,000.00
	<hr/>
	\$6,826.86
Balance of cash October 1, 1897,.....	2,933.22
	<hr/>
	\$9,760.08

CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

The Librarian's and General Fund.

Balance of Fund, October 2, 1896,	\$38,121.83	
Income to October 1, 1897,	1,906.23	
Transferred from Tenney Fund,	250.00	
From Life membership,	50.00	
		<hr/>
		\$40,328.06
Paid for salaries,.....	\$2,154.94	
Insurance,	283.75	
Incidental expenses (<i>including coal</i>),	639.05	
		<hr/>
		\$3,077.74
Balance, October 1, 1897,.....		<hr/>
		\$37,250.32

The Collection and Research Fund.

Balance October 2, 1896,.....	\$18,341.52	
Income to October 1, 1897,.....	999.71	
	<hr/>	
	\$19,341.23	
Expenditure from the Fund for salaries and incidentals,.....	1,624.70	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1897,.....		\$17,716.53

1897.]

Report of the Treasurer.

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The Bookbinding Fund.

Balance October 2, 1896,	\$5,944.76	
Income to October 1, 1897,	297.26	
	<u>\$6,242.02</u>	
Paid for binding,	126.75	
Balance, October 1, 1897,		\$6,115.27

The Publishing Fund.

Balance October 2, 1896,	\$25,748.74	
Income to October 1, 1897,	1,376.49	
	<u>\$27,125.23</u>	
Paid on account of publications,	740.63	
Balance October 1, 1897,		\$26,384.60

The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund.

Balance October 2, 1896,	\$8,801.24	
Income to October 1, 1897,	440.06	
Balance October 1, 1897,		\$9,241.30

The Lincoln Legacy Fund.

Balance October 2, 1896,	\$4,285.52	
Income to October 1, 1897,	214.28	
Balance October 1, 1897,		\$4,499.80

The Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund.

Balance October 2, 1896,	\$1,043.06	
Income to October 1, 1897,	52.15	
	<u>\$1,095.20</u>	
Paid for books,	9.50	
Balance October 1, 1897,		\$1,085.70

The Salisbury Building Fund.

Balance October 2, 1896,	\$4,657.37	
Income to October 1, 1897,	232.87	
	<u>\$4,890.24</u>	
Paid on account of repairs,	28.58	
Balance October 1, 1897,		\$4,861.66

The Alden Fund.

Balance October 2, 1896,	\$1,019.86	
Income to October 1, 1897,	51.00	
	<u>\$1,070.86</u>	
Paid on account of cataloguing,	66.66	
Balance October 1, 1897,		\$1,004.20

The Tenney Fund.

Balance October 2, 1896,	\$5,000.00	
Income to October 1, 1897,	250.00	
	<u>\$5,250.00</u>	
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,	250.00	
Balance October 1, 1897,		\$5,000.00

The Haven Fund.

Balance October 2, 1896,	\$1,201.86	
Income to October 1, 1897,	60.10	
	<u>\$1,261.96</u>	
Paid for books,	23.00	
Balance October 1, 1897,		\$1,238.96

The George Chandler Fund.

Balance October 2, 1896,	\$520.91	
Income to October 1, 1897,	36.10	
	<u>\$557.01</u>	
Paid for books,	26.60	
Balance October 1, 1897,		\$530.41

The Francis H. Dewey Fund.

Balance October 2, 1896,	\$2,950.34	
Income to October 1, 1897,	147.56	
	<u>\$3,097.90</u>	
Paid for books,	13.20	
Balance October 1, 1897,		\$3,084.69

The George E. Ellis Fund.

Balance October 2, 1896,	\$10,747.68	
Income to October 1, 1897,	537.38	
	<u>\$11,285.06</u>	
Paid for books,	89.50	
Balance October 1, 1897,		\$11,195.56

Total of the fourteen funds,		\$129,209.00
Balance to the credit of Income Account,		963.77
Balance to credit of the Premium Account,		115.94
October 1, 1897, total,		<u>\$130,288.71</u>

STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

No. of Shares.	STOCKS.	Amount Invested.	Par Value.	Market Value.
6	Central National Bank, Worcester,	\$ 600.00	\$ 600.00	\$ 870.00
22	City National Bank, Worcester,	2,200.00	2,200.00	3,300.00
10	Citizens National Bank, Worcester,	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,340.00
4	Boston National Bank,	400.00	400.00	362.00
6	Fitchburg National Bank,	600.00	600.00	900.00
5	Massachusetts National Bank, Boston,	500.00	500.00	381.00
32	National Bank of Commerce, Boston,	3,200.00	3,200.00	3,360.00
6	National Bank of North America, Boston, ...	600.00	600.00	498.00
15	North National Bank, Boston,	1,500.00	1,500.00	1,380.00
3	Old Boston National Bank, Boston,	300.00	300.00	311.00
24	Quinsigamond National Bank, Worcester, ...	2,400.00	2,400.00	3,360.00
46	Shawmut National Bank, Boston,	4,600.00	4,600.00	5,122.00
22	Webster National Bank, Boston,	2,200.00	2,200.00	2,200.00
31	Worcester National Bank,	3,100.00	3,100.00	4,500.00
	Total of Bank Stock,	<u>\$23,200.00</u>	<u>\$23,200.00</u>	<u>\$27,884.00</u>

1897.]

Report of the Treasurer.

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30 Northern (N. H.) R. R. Co.,	\$3,000.00	\$3,000.00	\$4,710.00
5 Worcester Gas Light Co.,	500.00	500.00	950.00
25 West End St. Railway Co. (Pfd.),	1,250.00	1,250.00	2,500.00
50 Washburn & Moen Mfg. Co.,	6,500.00	5,000.00	6,250.00

BONDS.

Central Pacific R. R. Bonds,	3,000.00	3,000.00	3,100.00
Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf R. R.,	3,300.00	3,300.00	3,063.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R. Co.,	3,000.00	3,850.00	2,400.00
Chicago & Eastern Illinois R. R. 5 per cent.,	10,147.50	10,000.00	10,200.00
City of Quincy Water Bonds,	4,000.00	4,000.00	4,000.00
Congress Hotel Bonds, Chicago,	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,000.00
Lowell, Lawrence & Haverhill St. Railway Co., ..	5,400.00	6,000.00	6,000.00
Wilkes Barre & Eastern R. R. Co.,	2,000.00	2,000.00	1,920.00
Ellicott Square Co., Buffalo,	5,604.86	5,000.00	5,604.86
Notes secured by mortgage of real estate,	51,150.00	51,150.00	51,150.00
Deposited in Worcester savings banks,	303.13	303.13	303.13
Cash in National Bank on interest,	2,933.22	2,933.22	2,933.22
	\$130,288.71	\$129,486.35	\$138,568.21

WORCESTER, Mass., October 1, 1897.

Respectfully submitted,

NATH'L PAINE,

Treasurer.

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that we have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to October 1, 1897, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched; that the securities held by him are as stated, and that the balance of cash, as stated to be on hand, is satisfactorily accounted for.

WM. A. SMITH,
A. G. BULLOCK.

October 18, 1897.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

IT WAS a devoted member who said of our Society, "it seems to have been born with its eyes wide open." It has certainly, ever since its birth in 1812, favored coöperation in a large and helpful way, and its good name has thereby been spoken abroad. The fact of a membership limited to one hundred and forty in the United States, has given added interest to the position thus taken and held. For example, forty-four years ago, on September 10, 1853, the Council "voted that Samuel F. Haven, Esq., and Rev. Edward E. Hale be a committee to represent the Society at the National Convention of Librarians to be held at New York on the 15th day of September current; voted that the expenses of the aforesaid be paid by the Treasurer of the Society." Thus the American Antiquarian Society officially took part in the first conference of librarians ever held in this or any other country. Dr. Haven also favored the establishing of the American Library Association, of which he was a life-member, and was specially honored at the Boston and Cambridge conference of 1879. I submit for preservation the following letter:

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,
Worcester, Mass., *September 30, 1876.*

To the Presiding Officer of the Library Conference.

Dear Sir: A combination of circumstances, partly personal, but more especially connected with official duties at home, renders it impracticable for me to attend the meeting of the librarians. I am also prevented from completing the paper I had, at short notice, proposed to offer, and am unwilling to present an imperfectly prepared essay to

such an audience. It would have afforded me great gratification to meet a fraternity of which I have the honor to be a member (now, I believe, one of the oldest), and to have partaken of the pleasures and advantages of the Conference. I must, however, leave that enjoyment to my younger associate, Mr. Edmund M. Barton, Assistant Librarian, who will represent the Library of the American Antiquarian Society, and extend its right hand of fellowship to other institutions. I beg permission to commend him as a most worthy member of our faculty.

Very faithfully yours,

SAMUEL F. HAVEN,

Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society.

At this Philadelphia Conference of 1876, your representative spoke briefly upon the preservation of pamphlet literature, the loss or mutilation of books, and the library value of duplicates. At the Lake George conference of 1885 he read a paper on "The Best Use of Duplicates"; and at the Milwaukee Conference of 1886 a paper on "The First Conference of American Librarians." It has been said that "No one who has watched the progress of the Public Library movement during the past twenty years can fail to appreciate the effect of the annual conferences of the American Library Association upon the zeal, efficiency and practical coöperation of the librarians of the United States." And this would seem to apply to libraries of a more or less private nature.

The librarians of the world have been brought into closer relations by the recent International Library Conference held in London on July 13-16, 1897, under the auspices of the Library Association of the United Kingdom. Thus, in the Victorian Jubilee Year, the coming of age of the A. L. A. was celebrated, not only in the city of its birth, but also with the L. A. U. K.—its child of twenty years—in the mother country. Our associate, Sir John Lubbock, was the President of this Second International Conference,

and our associate,¹ Dr. Justin Winsor, one of its Vice-Presidents. Two other members of the Society—Mr. James L. Whitney and your Librarian—were also active members of the Conference.

This is a reading age, "for better, for worse," and its citizens incline to say with Chaucer, "On books for to read I me delyte," or with Carnegie, "The really precious things of the world are its books." The custodian of a great library may well believe that it contains, to some extent at least, "the diary of the human race"; and for himself and his patrons, with Goethe, that "it is always good to know something"; and yet, possibly, with cynical Montaigne, that "nothing is so firmly believed as what we least know." It seems reasonable, however, that the librarian of today should have an abiding interest in everything which pertains to his chosen profession; its past, its present, and its future mission and methods.

The completion of the National Library building at Washington calls for a word of hearty congratulation from this national society, with an expression of the hope that it may soon be known the world over, not as the Library of Congress, but as the National Library—our *Bibliothèque Nationale*.

The question, "How came the Society the possessor of so much Mather material?" can best be answered from its printed record. In the "Communication to Members," October 14, 1814, under Articles presented to the Society, department, *Books*, we read: "Mrs. Hannah [Mather] Crocker of Boston, part of the remains of the ancient library formerly belonging to the Rev. Drs. Increase, Cotton and Samuel Mather (all deceased), value \$300.00." Immediately following this is the entry: "The President, the residue of the remains of the ancient library formerly belonging to the Rev. Drs. I., C. & S. Mather; and a

¹ Dr. Winsor died on October 22, 1897.

large number of other books ancient and modern, value \$1,312.50." Under *Manuscripts*, from Mrs. Crocker, the following: "Dr. Wilkinson's Sermons or Exposition of the Revelations of St. John. In eleven large 4to volumes, purchased in London by Dr. Increase Mather in 1691, cost at that time £10 sterling. Upwards of 900 single sermons written by the late Dr. S. Mather; several small volumes, being notes on sermons in the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century; Diaries of Drs. Increase and Cotton Mather; two treatises respecting the Pope's authority and mass, written in Fayal in 1682. And several other MS. books written about that time, with a number of original letters written in the last century to the Mathers by Dr. Watts and other ministers in England and elsewhere." Under *Various Articles*: "Arms of the Mather family in a small frame; and part of the tobacco box used by Sir Walter Raleigh and given by him to Gov. Phipps." In the "Address to Members," printed in March, 1819, we find the following credited to Mrs. Crocker, under *Books*: "Several volumes of the 17th and 18th centuries, and a number of pamphlets." Under *Manuscripts*: "Collections of Moral Observations &c. from Christian and Pagan writers, by Rev. Samuel Mather; Letter Book of the Rev. Cotton Mather, and his version of the Psalms; Journal of Rev. Increase Mather, President of Harvard College in 1685; 8 sermons by Rev. John Cotton of Boston and some sermons &c. by herself." (*sic.*) In the same group, under Isaiah Thomas, Esq., are acknowledged "A note book of Dr. Cotton Mather of Authors and Texts throughout the Bible; and Daily Observations by an author of the 17th century, not known." And finally under *Various Articles for the Cabinet, &c.*, we find the important entry: "Half length likenesses (taken when living) of Rev. Increase, Cotton and Samuel Mather of Boston; a small chair made in England in the reign of King James I. for Rich. Mather, afterwards minis-

ter of Dorchester, Mass." Continuous and reasonably successful efforts have been made to enrich the various departments of this ancient, interesting and valuable collection. Purchases at the Brinley and Cooke sales and with the Haven Fund in foreign and domestic markets, with occasional exchanges and gifts, have aided the undertaking.

The accessions for the past six months by gift were from three hundred and thirty-one sources—the largest number reported—namely, from forty-four members, one hundred and thirty-five persons not members, and one hundred and fifty-two societies and institutions. We received therefrom fifteen hundred and twenty books, thirty-seven hundred and ninety-two pamphlets, three bound and one hundred and sixty unbound volumes of newspapers, two hundred and eighty-eight manuscripts, one hundred and sixteen medals, ninety-five photographs, including six upon china, sixty-six lithographs, thirty-three maps, fourteen coins, fourteen broadsides and one seal. By exchange twenty-one books and twenty-one pamphlets; and from the bindery three volumes of newspapers; making the total receipts to October 15, fifteen hundred and fifty-three books, thirty-eight hundred and thirty-nine pamphlets, six bound and one hundred and sixty unbound volumes of newspapers, *etc.*

The second gift of our associate the Duc de Loubat is, like his first, of marked archaeological value. It is the first part of "*Galérie Américaine du Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro.*" The giver's relation to the work appears in the introduction by Dr. E. T. Hamy, dated Paris, 4 Juillet, 1897: "M. le duc de Loubat, dont tous les Américanistes apprécient le zèle éclairé pour l'étude des antiquités du Nouveau-Monde, vit un jour, sur une table de mon laboratoire, ce recueil dont je venais de montrer quelques pages à l'une de mes leçons. Il fut frappé de l'intérêt que présentait cet ensemble de planches où se trouvent rapprochés

des spécimens choisis entre les milliers d'objets des deux Amériques que possède le Trocadéro, et, avec le généreux enthousiasme qui le caractérise, il mit aussitôt à ma disposition les moyens nécessaires pour faire tirer le bel album que je présente aujourd'hui aux savants spéciaux."

The collection of indentures and business letters presented by Mr. Charles P. Bowditch has been placed in the manuscript room. Their historic value is indicated by the following letter addressed to Thomas Hancock relative to his nephew, John Hancock :—

London 14th July 1761.

Dear Sir

This goes by the hands of your Nephew Mr. John Hancock and pray God he may have a Safe voyage, and a happy meeting of yourself and all friends.— he has been very anxious for sometime, that he might have the happiness of that Event, but could not till now, meet with a favourable Opportunity, for a passage since the Spring Ships.—If his Expences while here, has been more, than you may have expected, I am sure you'll excuse it, for I can assure you, no Young Gentleman that I know off, from any part of America has laid it out with more Propriety and frugality, always keeping up such a Charracter, as was agreable to the Connections, you were pleased to grant him.—he is a very worthy well disposed young Gentleman, and despises the thing that is Mean and Low, and I doubt not he will be a Comfort both to you and M^{rs}. Hancock, I shall miss him greatly as will his acquaintance, but as it is for his good, we must all Submit, I shall always pray for his health & Welfare.

We are quite at an uncertainty as to Peace or Warr,—it is said France has not accepted of the Proposals we have made them, but will see the Event of this Campaign, hope it will be prosperous for us that we may have a good peace.

I hope this will meet you and M^{rs}. Hancock in a good state of Health,—Mine and my son John's Compliments and best Wishes attends you both—And am very respectfully, Dear Sir

Your most Obedient Serv^t.

JON^A BARNARD.

P. S.

I have duly recd your Obliging favour of the 21st may, being a copy of that of Cap^t. Mackay (who is not yet arrived) for which I thank you.

It will be remembered that in 1760 John Hancock, then a young man of twenty-three years, went to England, where he was present at the coronation of George III., and that upon the death of his uncle Thomas on August 1, 1764, he succeeded to his large fortune, as well as to his extensive business.

Hon. Samuel A. Green's gift includes not only his usual gift of Groton local history but the unusual gift of six pieces of china ware upon which are photographed seven of its public buildings. Prof. Edward A. Grosvenor sends his exhaustive History of Constantinople endorsed "To the American Antiquarian Society from their fellow member." Hon. Thomas L. Nelson has strengthened our valuable collection of Massachusetts Resolves; and Mr. Nathaniel Paine has carefully mounted the broadsides he has recently listed in the Society's Proceedings. The last gift of our lamented associate, Hon. Edward Lillie Pierce, is the second edition of his "Lillie Family of Boston, 1663-1896." President Salisbury has enriched our Spanish American department and made an interesting addition to our juvenile literature of a half-century ago.

On June 16, 1897, the following communication was received:

Hollis cor Tremont,
Boston, June 15, 1897.

To the Secretary of the American Antiquarian Society,
Worcester, Mass.,

Dear Sir:

The will of the late Rev. Dr. Caleb Davis Bradlee contains the following clause:

"I give all my books with the exception of such volumes as may be especially desired by my wife or daughter (not

exceeding sixty in number) to the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass."

The family have selected those which they desire and I wish to inform your society of the bequest and that the volumes are at the late home of Dr. Bradlee, "The Three Arches," Fisher Ave., Brookline.

Before making your arrangements for packing or sending for the books it would be well to call or communicate with Dr. Bradlee's son-in-law, Mr. Walter C. Smith, at the office of the Calumet & Hecla Mining Co., Ashburton Place, this city.

If you will kindly do this and then sign and return enclosed receipt, you will oblige

Very respectfully,

SAMUEL B. DOGGETT.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, the President on June 20, 1897, receipted for the five hundred and thirteen volumes, which had been transferred under the personal direction of your Librarian. The books, which are many of them author's copies in fine condition, generally contain Dr. Bradlee's autograph. After placing a special book-plate in each, the volumes were distributed to their respective departments for use by the scholars of the present and the future. Rev. Dr. Bradlee, who was not a member, though a life-long friend, of the Society, was born in Boston on February 24, 1831, and died in Brookline, Massachusetts, on May 1, 1897.

A long sought tract has reached us through the estate of Miss Harriet E. Henshaw. It bears the following inscription in the handwriting of Rev. George Allen: "Found in the rag-bag of a junk shop in Worcester, and presented to Miss Harriet Henshaw, Leicester, Mass." Following is a line title: "A | Discourse, Delivered in Providence, | Upon the 25th. Day of July 1768 | at | The Dedication of the | Tree of Liberty, | From the Summer House in the Tree. | By a Son of Liberty. | Providence. | Printed and Sold by John Waterman, | At His Printing office, at the

Paper-Mill. | MDCCLXVIII." On the last page is the following instructive statement: "JOHN WATERMAN, The Printer hereof; GIVES Notice to his former good Customers and others, that he Continues to make all Sorts of Paper as usual, and that he sells the same at the Cheapest Rates for Cash. He also Carries on the Printing Business at his Office at the Paper-Mill, but intends shortly to remove his office into the most public Part of the Town, where he proposes to Extend the Business. The Public may depend upon his Fidelity, Care and Dispatch, in such Printing Work as they may Employ him about." The gift by Mrs. Edward Winslow Lincoln of a portion of the library of her late honored husband, again reminds us of the indebtedness of this Society to the Lincoln Family of Worcester. Manuscript and printed material received from Mrs. Ellen A. Stone, Mr. Charles H. Doe and the Spy Publishing Company has filled important gaps; Hon. Russell S. Taft has added to our early Vermont laws and registers, and Rev. Elbert W. Whitney to our collection of manuscript sermons. Mr. Wrilson S. Tifft has given the "Partial Record of the Descendants of John Tefft," in memory of Thomas A. Tefft of Providence, R. I., the architect of our main building; Mr. John J. Putnam his "Family History in the Line of Joseph Convers of Bradford, Mass.," "Presented to the American Antiquarian Society in remembrance of numerous attentions received from its Librarian and assistants"; and Messrs. Frank S. and Charles H. Pratt "Phineas Pratt and some of his Descendants." Mr. Richard M. Saltonstall writes to the Librarian on July 2, 1897: "I send by express a copy of the book entitled 'Ancestors and Descendants of Sir Richard Saltonstall, First Associate of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and Patentee of Connecticut,' which has been printed for private distribution. This book was prepared by my father, Mr. Leverett Saltonstall, with the coöperation and assistance of Mr. Henry Saltonstall of Boston and

Mr. F. G. Saltonstall of New York. Shortly after the completion of the manuscript the author, Mr. Leverett Saltonstall, died, and I have been looking after the publication of the book. It was the desire of the author that you should be furnished with a copy of the book, and I therefore take pleasure in forwarding the same to you at this time." We have received from the author "The New England Primer. A history of its origin and development with a reprint of the unique copy of the earliest known edition, and many facsimile illustrations and reproductions." It is inscribed "The American Antiquarian Society in return for the courtesy to Paul Leicester Ford."

The Worcester Free Public Library and the Worcester County Mechanics Association still supply for binding the bulk of representative current newspapers. One source of sixty years ago is indicated by the following in the Council Records, May 27, 1837: "Voted—That Mr. Fisher, the Librarian, be requested to purchase from the reading room files of the *National Intelligencer*, *National Gazette* and the *Albany Argus*, provided he can purchase them for the price of wrapping paper." The Duodecimos have presented their edition of "The Poems of Mrs. Anne Bradstreet, 1612-1672, together with her Prose Remains," for service rendered in its preparation for the press.

I note the death of J. Hammond Trumbull, LL.D., William Rice, D.D., and Frederick D. Stone, LL.D., three representative American librarians who for long years rendered distinguished service in the Connecticut State Library and the Watkinson Library, the Springfield City Library, and the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, respectively.

At a meeting of the Council on October 22, 1895, it was "Voted, that the matter of revising the seal of the Society be referred to the Recording Secretary to report to the Council." It therefore seems timely to submit a few official notes relative to its history. The original drawing

was not only preserved but framed by our founder, who carefully wrote upon it in ink, "Drawing of the seal of the American Antiquarian Society, designed by I. Thomas and drawn by John R. Penniman, Boston." The records of the *Society* throw the following light upon the subject: October 24, 1814, "Voted, that the device for the seal of the Society prepared by the Committee appointed for the purpose, be accepted, and that Messrs. Snelling and Samuel J. Prescott be a Committee to get the same engraved on steel for the use of the Society." October 23, 1815. "The Committee on the subject of the seal reported progress." January 1, 1817. "The Committee on the subject of the seal reported progress and had further time allowed them to comply with their direction from the Society." April 15, 1818. "Mr. Snelling from the Committee on the subject of the Society's seal made report that it was impossible to have it executed, and at his suggestion it was voted that a copy of the device adopted by the Society be taken and transmitted to Mr. Burnside, the Corresponding Secretary at Worcester, to be sent by him to Mr. J. E. Bogert of New York, or some other member of the Society in that place, to be engraved in such manner as may be thought best, by the first artist in that city, on brass, silver or steel; the expense of which to be drawn from the Treasury of the Society." October 23, 1819. "The President has also presented, to be engraved at his own expense, a beautiful and appropriate Diploma and Seal for the use of the Society." Following are the three entries upon the subject from the *Council* records: September 26, 1832. "Voted, that the Librarian be requested to ascertain for what sum a seal of the Society, upon a reduced scale, can be obtained and to report to the Council." November 27, 1839. "Voted, that the Secretary be authorized to have the seal of the Society adapted to be used with the common sealing presses." And on March 31, 1847. "Voted, that the Librarian be authorized to procure paper to be

stamped for use." It does not appear who finally succeeded in making the plate for the seal, but it is clear from the Society record already quoted, that it was done under the energetic, personal direction of Dr. Thomas and at his charge. I suggest the addition of the year of our incorporation to the seal designed by our founder.

The gift by President Thomas of an engraved diploma plate has been referred to incidentally. This elaborate certificate was carefully described in the Librarian's Report of April, 1893, but its history and the occasion of its loss was not then known. It was said to have been burned, with a part of the edition of volume two of our *Archæologia Americana*, at the Stationers' Hall fire in Boston. The action of the Council on April 3, 1839, is, however, suggestive: "Voted, that the Librarian be requested to communicate with Mr. Pendleton of New York, and request him to return the Diploma Plate of the Society, or furnish another of equal value, or pay for the one lost." President Thomas L. Winthrop writes to William Lincoln, Domestic Corresponding Secretary, on April 20, 1839: "Mr. George H. Child, the person employed by me to search for the Society's plate and the blanks for diplomas prepared by Pendleton, has made no further discovery; he expresses strong doubt if the plate will be found. The Society will probably adopt some measure to compel Mr. Pendleton to furnish a new plate or to pay a reasonable sum for that which by his negligence has been lost." Mr. George Folsom of New York writes to Samuel F. Haven, Librarian, on May 31, 1839: "The Pendleton who was in Boston at the period referred to, now resides in Philadelphia. He has a brother here and is often here himself. I have several times inquired for him at his brother's, but as yet have not seen him. He is expected soon and I will apprise you of the result of my inquiries as soon as I find him." The search appears to have been unsuccessful, for on June 25, 1845, the Council "Voted, that the Librarian

and Recording Secretary be directed to procure a plate to be engraved for Diplomas." The action contemplated was not taken, and printed certificates varying in form and expression have been used ever since the disappearance of the copper plate. A Society book-plate has recently been prepared. It has our seal for its centre and the Society's name in antique type above, with space below the seal for the name of giver and date of gift. The design for the George E. Ellis book-plate has not yet been determined.

On the 20th of October, 1847, Edward Everett Hale of Worcester was by vote of the Council recommended for membership in the American Antiquarian Society, and on the 23d of the same month was duly elected. In closing this report I beg leave to tender him on the eve of his semi-centennial, an expression of our most affectionate regard. We may well couple with this the action of the Council ten years earlier, for on September 23, 1837, it was "Voted that the meeting now proceed to the choice of a Librarian and Cabinet Keeper—to enter upon the duties of his office not later than the first day of April next, to continue in office during the pleasure of the Council—chose Samuel F. Haven." The service which these two friends have rendered to this Society cannot be overstated.

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,

Librarian.

Givers and Gifts.

FROM MEMBERS.

- BARTON, EDMUND M., Worcester.—Twenty pamphlets; and Worcester's Young Men and St. Andrew's Cross, in continuation.
- BOUTELL, LEWIS H., LL.D., Evanston, Ill.—His "Life of Roger Sherman."
- BOWDITCH, CHARLES P., Boston.—Two books; ninety-three parchment indentures; one hundred and nineteen autograph letters; and twenty-one miscellaneous manuscripts.
- BRINTON, DANIEL G., LL.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—Five of his own publications.
- BROCK, ROBERT A., Richmond, Va.—Virginia newspapers containing articles from his pen.
- BUTLER, JAMES D., LL.D., Madison, Wis.—His "Codfish: its Place in American History."
- CHASE, CHARLES A., Worcester.—Six books; eighteen pamphlets; three manuscripts; and various circulars.
- COLTON, REUBEN, Boston.—Three books; and two pamphlets.
- DAVIS, ANDREW MCF., Cambridge.—His tribute to Benjamin A. Gould; and his "The General Court and Land Bank Litigants."
- EDES, HENRY H., Cambridge.—"A Letter of Henry Dunster with Notes and Remarks" by Mr. Edes; and a tribute to J. Hammond Trumbull.
- FOSTER, WILLIAM E., Providence, R. I.—His Nineteenth Annual Report as Librarian of the Providence Public Library.
- GILMAN, DANIEL C., LL.D., Baltimore, Md.—His "A Study in Black and White"; and his Washington and Lee University Address, 1897.
- GREEN, HON. ANDREW H., *President*, New York.—His Thirteenth Annual Report on the State Reservation at Niagara.
- GREEN, HON. SAMUEL A., Boston.—Four of his own publications; fifteen books; one hundred and fifty-two pamphlets; six Groton souvenirs in china; thirteen manuscripts; thirty-three maps; six photographs; five lithographs; four broadsides; and the "American Journal of Numismatics," in continuation.
- GREENE, J. EVARTS, Worcester.—Two bound and ten unbound manuscripts.

GROSVENOR, EDWIN A., Amherst.—His "Constantinople," in two volumes, royal octavo.

HALE, REV. EDWARD E., D.D., Roxbury.—One hundred and forty-four pamphlets; and the United States Weather Bureau Maps for 1896-97, in continuation.

HOAR, HON. GEORGE F., Worcester.—His "The Charge of Packing the Court against President Grant and Attorney-General Hoar Refuted"; forty-two books; nine hundred and fifty-three pamphlets; and six files of newspapers, in continuation.

HOYT, ALBERT H., Boston.—One pamphlet.

HUNTINGTON, REV. WILLIAM R., D.D., New York.—His "Facing the Evil Day," Baccalaureate Sermon, Columbia University, June 6, 1897.

JAMESON, J. FRANKLIN, *Editor*, Providence, R. I.—Papers from the Historical Seminary of Brown University, No. VIII.

LANGLEY, SAMUEL P., D.C.L., Washington, D. C.—His "Memoir of George Brown Goode, 1851-1896."

LEA, HENRY CHARLES, LL.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—His "Spanish Experiments in Coinage."

LORD, ARTHUR, Plymouth.—His Speech at the 91st Anniversary Celebration of the New England Society in the City of New York, 1896.

LOUBAT, DUC DE, New York.—"Galerie Américaine du Musée Ethnographie du Trocadéro."

LOVE, REV. WILLIAM DELOSS, JR., Ph.D., Hartford, Conn.—"List of Names on the Grave Stones in the Centre Burying Ground, Hartford, Conn."

MEAD, EDWIN D., Boston.—Three pamphlets.

MOORE, CLARENCE B., Ph.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—His "Certain Aboriginal Mounds of the Georgia Coast."

NELSON, HON. THOMAS L., Worcester.—Various Resolves of the General Assembly of the State of Massachusetts, October, 1776—June, 1790; Early Records of the Town of Providence, Vols. XII. and XIII.; and two books.

NOURSE, HON. HENRY S., Lancaster.—His "History of the Origin of Clinton."

PAINE, NATHANIEL, Worcester.—Ten books; two hundred and thirty-two pamphlets; two manuscripts; one photograph; and three files of newspapers, in continuation.

PEET, REV. STEPHEN D., Ph.D., Good Hope, Ill.—His "American and Oriental Journal," as issued.

PIERCE, EDWARD L., LL.D., Milton.—His "Major John Lillie, 1755-1801. The Lillie Family of Boston, 1663-1896."

PORTER, REV. EDWARD G., Dorchester.—His "Remarks suggested by a tablet at Rome commemorative of S. F. B. Morse."

- ROGERS, HORATIO, *Commissioner*, Providence, R. I.—“Early Records of the Town of Providence.” Vols. XII. and XIII.
- SALISBURY, HON. STEPHEN, Worcester.—Seventy-seven books; two hundred and thirty-nine pamphlets; one photograph; and seven files of newspapers, in continuation.
- SMITH, CHARLES C., Boston.—His Annual Report for 1896 as Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society.
- TAFT, HENRY W., Pittsfield.—Fifteen printed sermons of early date.
- UPHAM, HENRY P., St. Paul, Minn.—“The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents,” Vols. V.-VIII., in continuation.
- WINSOR, JUSTIN, LL.D., Cambridge.—His “Baptista Agnese and American Cartography in the 16th Century”; and his paper on the Surrender of the Bradford Manuscript.
- WRIGHT, HON. CARROLL D., *Commissioner*, Washington, D. C.—His Annual Report for 1895-96.

FROM PERSONS NOT MEMBERS.

- ACLAND, SIR HENRY, Oxford, England.—His “History of the Oxford Museum.”
- APPLETON, DANIEL, AND COMPANY, New York.—“The Monthly Bulletin,” as issued.
- BAILEY, ISAAC H., *Editor*, New York.—The “Shoe and Leather Reporter,” as issued.
- BARRETT, SAMUEL D., Providence, R. I.—Six silver and copper coins; seven reproductions of coins, and one hundred and sixteen of medals.
- BARROWS, HON. SAMUEL J., Boston.—His “A Tariff on Education.”
- BARTON, MISS LYDIA M., Worcester.—“The Association Record,” in continuation.
- BECK, JAMES M., Philadelphia, Pa.—Three of his addresses.
- BENT, SAMUEL A., Boston.—His “The Wayside Inn, its History and Literature.”
- BERRY, BENJAMIN J., Lynn.—Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Harvard University, 1813.
- BIRD, MRS. ANNA C., East Walpole.—One hundred and seventy-four State and National documents.
- BIRNEY, WILLIAM, New York.—“James G. Birney and his Times,”
- BOSTON BOOK COMPANY.—Numbers of “The Bulletin of Bibliography.”
- BOWDITCH, NATHANIEL INGERSOLL, HEIRS OF.—Deed of Samuel Bellingham and Elizabeth, his daughter, to Judge S. Sewall; and a type-written copy of the same.
- BOWKER, RICHARD R., New York.—One pamphlet.

- BRADLEE, REV. CALER DAVIS, D.D., BEQUEST OF.—Five hundred and thirteen selected volumes.
- BROOKS, REV. WILLIAM H., D.D., *Secretary*, Boston.—Journal of the Annual Meeting of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Massachusetts, 1897.
- BROWN, FRANCIS F., *Editor*, Chicago, Ill.—“The Dial,” as issued.
- BRYANT, H. WINSLOW, Portland, Me.—Two pamphlets.
- BURGESS, REV. FRANCIS G., Worcester.—Twelve books; eighty-two pamphlets; four photographs; and the “Spirit of Missions,” in continuation.
- BURTON, CHARLES M., Detroit, Mich.—His “Account of the Original Order Book of Gen. Winchester”; and two pamphlets.
- CANFIELD, MRS. PENELOPE L., Worcester.—Three books; eleven pamphlets; and one photograph.
- CARPENTER AND MOREHOUSE, Amherst.—Numbers of the “Amherst Record,” to complete file.
- CHEEVER, The Misses, Worcester.—“The Hawaiian Gazette” for 1896-97.
- CHICKERING, JOSEPH K., New Haven, Conn.—Twenty pamphlets; and various circulars.
- CLARK, REV. GEORGE F., West Acton.—The “New York Voice,” and “Woman’s Journal,” in continuation.
- CRAWFORD, LORD, Wigan, England.—“List of his Manuscripts, Printed Books and Examples of Bookbinding Exhibited to the American Librarians on their visit to Haigh Hall.”
- CURRY, J. L. M., *Secretary*, Baltimore, Md.—Proceedings of the John F. Slater Fund for the Education of Freedmen, 1897.
- DEMENIL, ALEXANDER N., St. Louis, Mo.—The “Hesperian,” as issued.
- DIMOCK, MISS SUSAN W., *Compiler*, Coventry, Conn.—“Births, Marriages, Baptisms and Deaths, Coventry, Ct., 1711-1844.”
- DODGE, JAMES H., *Auditor*, Boston.—His Report for 1896-97.
- DOE, CHARLES H., Worcester.—Fifty-two books; five hundred and eleven pamphlets; and three bound and twelve unbound volumes of newspapers.
- EARLE, STEPHEN C., Worcester.—Four books; ninety-two pamphlets; and “The Churchman” for 1888-89.
- FELT, CHARLES W., Marlborough.—A copy of the seal of Provincetown, Massachusetts; and one pamphlet.
- FITTS, REV. JAMES H., Newfields, N. H.—His “Manual of the Congregational Church in West Boylston, Mass.”
- FORCE, GEN. MANNING F., Cincinnati, O.—Six of his own publications.
- FORD, PAUL LEICESTER, Brooklyn, N. Y.—His “The New England Primer. A History of its Origin and Development.” *etc.*

- FROWDE, HENRY, London, Eng.—Numbers of "The Periodical."
- GAIDOS, M. HENRI, Paris, France.—"Mélusine," as issued.
- GAZETTE COMPANY. — Twenty-four books; ten pamphlets; and the "Worcester Evening Gazette," as issued.
- GEDDES, TOMAS E., Valparaiso, Chile. — His "La Ressurreccion de Jesu-Cristo, Nuestro Señor."
- GETCHELL, ALBERT C., M.D., Worcester. — "The Nation," 1894-97; and "Good Government," 1894-96.
- GIFFORD, JOHN, Princeton, N. J.—Numbers of "The Forester."
- GILMAN, JOHN, Worcester.—His "Farm Register," Vol. 21, No. 1.
- GOLDEN RULE PUBLISHING COMPANY, Boston.—"The Golden Rule," as issued.
- GOODELL, ABNER C., JR., Salem.—His Address, Boston, November 27, 1895, before the Society of Colonial Wars.
- GRISWOLD, WILLIAM, Cambridge.—Numbers of "The Reader."
- GUNCKEL, LEWIS W., Dayton, O.—His "Studies of American Hieroglyphs"; and his "Direction in which Mayan Inscriptions should be read."
- HARLOW, GEORGE H., *Register*, Worcester.—Index of Insolvency Cases, 1838-1897, County of Worcester.
- HARRIMAN, REV. FREDERICK W., *Secretary*, Windsor, Conn.—Journal of the Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Connecticut, 1897.
- HART, CHARLES H., Philadelphia, Pa.—His "National Portraits declared to be Frauds."
- HENSHAW, MISS HARRIET E., ESTATE OF.—Three pamphlets of early date.
- HOLMAN, MRS. SILAS, Los Angeles, Cal.—Fifty-one books; and ten pamphlets.
- HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY, Boston.—Wood-cut of Greenwood's portrait of Isaiah Thomas.
- HUCKEL, OLIVER, Amherst.—His "The Higher Education and the Common People."
- ILES, GEORGE, New York.—His "The Appraisal of Literature."
- JONES, CHARLES E., Augusta, Ga.—His Report submitted to the Confederate Survivors' Association, April 26, 1897.
- JONES, REV. HENRY L., S.T.D., Wilkes-Barré, Pa.—Three of his own publications.
- JOURNAL OF COMMERCE COMPANY, Providence, R. I.—Numbers of their Journal.
- LANGDON, PALMER H., *Editor*, New York.—Numbers of the "Aluminum World."

- LATCH, EDWARD B., Philadelphia, Pa.—His "The Mosaic System and the Macrocosmic Cross."
- LINCOLN, MRS. EDWARD WINSLOW, Worcester.—Two hundred and thirty-four books; two hundred and thirteen pamphlets; one bound volume of newspapers; seventy-five photographs; and sixty-one engravings and lithographs.
- LINCOLN, FRANCIS H., *Class Secretary*, Boston.—His "Report of Harvard College Class of 1867."
- LIPPINCOTT, J. B., COMPANY, Philadelphia, Pa.—Their "Bulletin," as issued.
- LOWDERMILK AND COMPANY, W. H., Washington, D. C.—The "Washington Book Chronicle," as issued.
- MCCORMICK, CYRUS H., Chicago, Ill.—Hubert's "Men of Achievement: Inventors."
- MCCORMICK HARVESTING MACHINE COMPANY, Chicago, Ill.—"Who Invented the Reaper?"
- MACMILLAN COMPANY, New York.—Their "Book Reviews," as issued.
- MARQUAND, HENRY, New York.—"Richard Hakluyt, his life and work; and the Hakluyt Society."
- MERRIMAN, MRS. DANIEL, Worcester.—Seventy-five books; two hundred and forty-six pamphlets; and newspapers in numbers.
- MOONEY, RICHARD H., *Editor*, Worcester.—The "School Register," as issued.
- MOREHEAD, JOSEPH M., Greensboro, N. C.—His "James Hunter; Address at Guilford Battle Ground, July 3, 1897."
- MORRISON, FRANCIS M., Worcester.—His Brief "In the Matter of the Naragansett Indians for Construction of Statute 800 of the Year 1880."
- MORSE, EDWARD S., Ph.D., Salem.—His "Korean Interviews."
- MORSE, RICHARD C., *General Secretary*, New York.—"Year Book of the Young Men's Christian Associations of North America."
- MOWER, EPHRAIM, Litchfield, Conn.—"The Mower Genealogy, 1690-1897"; and one cabinet photograph.
- MOWER, MANDEVILLE, New York.—New York newspapers containing articles by him.
- MUNN AND COMPANY, New York.—One pamphlet.
- NATIONAL CENTRAL LIBRARY OF FLORENCE.—The library publications, as issued.
- NEW ENGLAND REVIEW COMPANY, Worcester.—Their "New England Manufacturers' Mechanical and Commercial Review," as issued.
- NEW YORK EVENING POST PRINTING COMPANY.—"The Nation," as issued.

- NOBLE, JOHN, Boston.—His "Criminal Trials in the Court of Assistants, etc., 1630-1700"; his "The Libel Suit of Knowles v. Douglass, 1748 and 1749"; and "Catalogue of the Records and Files in the Office of the Clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court of Suffolk County, 1896."
- PACIFIC NORTHWEST COMPANY.—"The Pacific Northwest," as issued.
- PAINE, GEORGE T., Providence, R. I.—His "Denial of the Charge of Forgery in connection with the Sachem's Deed to Roger Williams."
- PEÑAFIEL, ANTONIO, *Directeur*, Mexico, Mex.—Three of his Statistical Reports relating to Mexico.
- PERLEY, SIDNEY, *Editor*, Salem.—Numbers of the "Essex Antiquarian."
- PHILISTINE COMPANY, East Aurora, N. Y.—Numbers of "The Philistine."
- PIPER, THOMAS, Worcester.—A copper token of 1674.
- POMEROY, JAMES E., Worcester.—One pamphlet.
- PRATT, FRANKLIN S., AND PRATT, CHARLES HERBERT, Boston.—"Phinehas Pratt and some of his Descendants."
- PUTNAM, JOHN J., Worcester.—His "Family History in the Line of Joseph Convers of Bedford, Mass."
- RELIGIOUS HERALD COMPANY, Hartford, Conn.—"The Religious Herald," as issued.
- RENAULT, RAOUL, Quebec, Canada.—"Courrier du Livre," as issued.
- RICE, FRANKLIN P., *Editor*, Worcester.—"Worcester Town Records, 1836-1844."
- RICE, GEORGE M., Worcester.—"A Souvenir of Massachusetts Legislators, 1897," Vol. 6; and the "Manual for 1897."
- RICH, MARSHALL N., *Editor*, Portland, Me.—"The Portland Board of Trade Journal," as issued.
- RIORDAN, JOHN J., Worcester.—His "Statistical Report of the Evening Schools, Worcester, Mass., 1896-97"; and papers relating thereto.
- ROBINSON, MISS MARY, Worcester.—Five books; and eighty-five pamphlets.
- ROBINSON, WILLIAM H., Worcester.—"The Amherst Record," in continuation.
- ROE, HOB. ALFRED S., Worcester.—Forty-eight pamphlets; ten files of newspapers; one map; and one proclamation.
- ROGERS, CHARLES E., Barre.—His "Barre Gazette," in continuation.
- SALEM GAZETTE COMPANY.—The "Salem Daily Gazette," as issued.
- SALTONSTALL, RICHARD M., Boston.—The "Ancestry and Descendants of Sir Richard Saltonstall."
- SCARSE, CHARLES E., Birmingham, England.—His "Letters relating to Mary Queen of Scots"; and two pamphlets.
- SCHAEFFER, M. C., *Editor*, Lancaster, Pa.—Numbers of the "Pennsylvania School Journal."

- SELLERS, EDWIN J., Philadelphia, Pa.—His "Account of the Jandon Family."
- SENTINEL PRINTING COMPANY, Fitchburg.—The "Weekly Sentinel," as issued.
- SHAW, JOSEPH A., Worcester.—The Highland Military Academy Register, Worcester, Mass., 1896-97.
- SLATTER, REV. EDMUND F., D.D., Registrar, Boston.—His Fourteenth Annual Report.
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- STAPLES, MRS. HAMILTON B., Worcester.—The Address of Judge Staples on "Ravenna, its Art and Architecture"; and fourteen selected books.
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- STILL, ARTHUR T., Kirksville, Mo.—Numbers of the "Journal of Osteopathy."
- STONE, MRS. ELLEN A., East Lexington.—Nine account books of Stephen Robbins, 1767-1803; six manuscripts; thirty-five text books; and "The Woman's Journal," 1871-1896.
- SUN PUBLISHING COMPANY.—"The Worcester Sun," as issued.
- SWEETSER, MISS FRANCES W., Grafton.—One hundred and eighty-two pamphlets; and numbers of newspapers.
- TAFT, HON. RUSSELL S., Burlington, Vt.—Index to Laws of Vermont, 1800; Partial Index to the Laws of 1804 and 1817; and "Walton's Vermont Register," 1877-1880 and 1896.
- TELEGRAM NEWSPAPER COMPANY.—"Worcester Daily Telegram," Vol. 11, 1896-7, in two volumes, bound.
- TERRY, JAMES, New Haven, Conn.—His "Sculptured Anthropoid Ape Heads"; and numbers of his "Ex Libris Leaflets."
- THOMAS, DOUGLAS H., Baltimore, Md.—His "John Harrison, President of the United States in Congress Assembled, 1781-1782."
- TIFFT, WILSON S., Buffalo, N. Y.—"Partial Record of the Descendants of John Tafft."
- TOOKER, WILLIAM W., Sag Harbor, N. Y.—His "The Significance of John Eliot's Natick."
- TRUMBLE, ALFRED, Editor, New York.—"The Collector," as issued.
- TURNER, JOHN H., Ayer.—"The Groton Landmark," as issued.
- VINTON, ALEXANDER H., D.D., Worcester.—"The Parish," as issued.
- WALKER, HON. JOSEPH H., Worcester.—His "Vindication of the Committee on Banking and Currency."

WARDWELL, Mrs. W. T., Newton.—Laborde's "Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne." Tome Seconde.

WASHBURN AND MOEN MANUFACTURING COMPANY.—The Twenty-seventh Annual Report.

WERNER COMPANY, Chicago, Ill.—"Self Culture," as issued.

WHEELER, LEONARD, M.D., Worcester. — Seven books; seventy-six pamphlets.

WHITAKER AND RAY COMPANY, San Francisco, Cal.—Numbers of their "Western Journal of Education."

WHITE, Mrs. CAROLINE E., *Editor*, Philadelphia, Pa.—"The Journal of Zoöphily," as issued.

WHITNEY, Rev. ELBERT W., Milford.—Nineteen manuscript sermons by Rev. Lyman Maynard, Rev. Joseph Barber, M.D., and Rev. George Wallace Whitney.

WINTHROP, ROBERT C., JR., Boston.—His "Memoir of Robert C. Winthrop."

FROM SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA.—Publications of the Academy, as issued.

ACADEMY OF SCIENCE OF ST. LOUIS.—Transactions of the Academy, as issued.

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.—Publications of the Academy, as issued.

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- ANCIENT AND HONORABLE ARTILLERY COMPANY OF MASSACHUSETTS.—History of the Company, Vol. 2.
- ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.—The Seminary Necrology, 1896-97.
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- BOSTON BOARD OF HEALTH.—The "Statement of Mortality," as issued.
- BOSTON, CITY OF.—City Documents, 1-4, 1896.
- BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Publications of the Library, as issued.
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- BROOKLINE LIBRARY.—The "Library Bulletin," as issued.
- BROOKLYN LIBRARY.—The Thirty-ninth Annual Report.
- BROWN UNIVERSITY.—Two pamphlets.
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- BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- BUFFALO PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Sixty-first Annual Report; and Fiction Finding List, 1897.
- BUREAU OF AMERICAN REPUBLICS.—Publications of the Bureau, as issued.
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- CANADIAN INSTITUTE.—Publications of the Institute, as issued.
- CARNEGIE FREE LIBRARY, Allegheny, Pa.—The Seventh Annual Report.
- CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA.—The Year Book for 1897-98.
- CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY, New York.—Numbers of "The Charities Review."
- CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- CITY LIBRARY ASSOCIATION, Springfield.—"The Library Bulletin," as issued.
- CITY LIBRARY OF LOWELL, MASS.—The "Library Bulletin," as issued.
- CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION OF BROOKLYN.—The Thirteenth Annual Report.
- CLEVELAND PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Numbers of "The Cumulative Index."

- COLONIAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—Charter, Constitution, By-Laws, *etc.* of the Society.
- COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.—“Political Science Quarterly,” as issued; and two pamphlets.
- CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
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- DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The “Dedham Historical Register,” as issued.
- DELAWARE, STATE OF.—The Constitution Adopted in Convention, June 4, 1897.
- DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA SOCIETY OF THE SONS OF THE REVOLUTION.—Report of the Historian for 1895 and 1896.
- DUODECIMOS, THE.—“The Poems of Mrs. Anne Bradstreet, 1612-1672, together with her Prose Remains.”
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- FITCHBURG, CITY OF.—The City Documents, 1896.
- FORBES LIBRARY, Northampton.—The Second Annual Report.
- FREE MUSEUM OF SCIENCE AND ART, Philadelphia, Pa.—“The Bulletin,” Vol. 1, No. 1.
- GENERAL SOCIETY OF THE DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION.—“The Ancestral Register of 1896.”
- GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.—A map of the Arctic Regions.
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- HOWARD MEMORIAL LIBRARY, New Orleans, La.—“Letters and Conversations on the Indian Missions.”
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- INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- INDIANAPOLIS PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Manual of the Library for 1896-97.
- INSTITUTO MEDICO NACIONAL, Mexico, Mex.—“Anales del Instituto,” as issued.
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- LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA.—“The Library Bulletin,” as issued.
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- NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued; and ten of our Society Proceedings.
- NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued; and New Jersey Archives, volumes XI., XII.
- NEW JERSEY STATE LIBRARY.—Annual Report for 1896.
- NEW YORK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.—Publications of the Academy, as issued.
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UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT.—Annual Report of the Supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine Hospital, 1896.

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UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA.—Bulletin of the Agricultural Experiment Station, as issued.

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WORCESTER COUNTY MECHANICS ASSOCIATION.—Twenty files of newspapers, in continuation; and seven magazines.

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WORCESTER DISTRICT MEDICAL SOCIETY.—“By-Laws, Officers and Members, 1897.”

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WORCESTER POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE, CLASS OF '97.—“The Aftermath of '97.”

“WORCESTER SHAKSPERE CLUB.”—“Early History of the ‘Shakspeare’ Club, with its Records.”

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

WYOMING COMMEMORATIVE ASSOCIATION.—Report of the Proceedings of the Association, July 3, 1897.

YALE UNIVERSITY.—Obituary Record of Graduates, 1897.

EARLY NEW ENGLAND CATECHISMS.

BY WILBERFORCE EAMES.

THE early New England Catechisms—forerunners of the New England Primer—form a branch of the literature of education in America which is worthy of retrospective study. Although the subject offers an interesting field for bibliographical research, a satisfactory treatment is difficult because of the scarcity of material. Notwithstanding the many catechisms that were printed, both in this country and abroad, for the use of children here, but few copies have come down to our own times, and of many editions nearly every vestige has been lost. It has been truly said of these early books for the education of youth, that "they were considered too small and unimportant to be preserved in the libraries of the learned, and the copies that were used by children, were generally worn out by hard service or otherwise destroyed."¹

One phase of the history of educational and entertaining books for children has been treated by Mr. Charles Welsh, in his work entitled, *A Bookseller of the Last Century, being some Account of the Life of John Newbery, and of the Books he published, with a Notice of the later Newberys*, London, 1885. This volume contains a descriptive catalogue of children's books, filling one hundred and eighty pages of an appendix. The same author's paper, *On some of the Children's Books of the Last Century*, was read before the "Sette of Odd Volumes," in London, and was privately printed in 1886 for members of the club. Newbery was one of the pioneer publishers of children's

¹ Livermore's *Origin of the New England Primer* (1849), preface.

books in England, and his example was followed by Isaiah Thomas in this country. In 1896 Mr. Andrew W. Tuer's *History of the Horn Book* appeared in London, in two volumes, quarto, treating that subject fully; and in September of 1897, there was published Mr. Paul Leicester Ford's masterly treatment of *The New England Primer*—a model of critical research and fine bookmaking.

My remarks will relate chiefly to some of the catechisms for children and older persons, which were used in New England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It would not have been possible to gather material, in the way it is here presented, without the use of the remarkable collection of catechisms brought together half a century ago by Mr. George Livermore of Dana Hill in Cambridge. When his library was dispersed by public sale in 1894, the collection referred to was secured almost intact for the Lenox Library, now a part of the New York Public Library. The credit for this paper, therefore, is largely due to Mr. Livermore, to whom we are indebted for gathering the material and saving it from destruction. There was, moreover, an earlier owner of a portion of this collection of catechisms, a contemporary of the Rev. Thomas Prince, in the last century, to whom we are under obligations for the preservation of some of the oldest American catechisms now extant. I do not know his name, and can only say that he had nine of these little publications, dating between 1656 and 1740, bound together in one volume.¹ The catechisms are now separate, having been broken apart some time before the Livermore sale, but the evidence of their former condition still remains.

¹They were arranged and bound in the following order: (1) Cotton's *Spiritual Milk for Boston Babes*, Cambridge, 1656; (2) Noyes's *Short Catechism*, Boston, 1714; (3) Fiske's *Watering of the Olive Plant*, Cambridge, 1657; (4) Norton's *Brief Catechisme*, Cambridge, 1660; (5) Seaborn Cotton's *Brief Summe . . . of our Christian Faith*, Cambridge, 1663; (6) Stone's *Short Catechism*, Boston, 1684; (7) Fitch's *First Principles of the Doctrine of Christ*, Boston, 1679; (8) Perkins's *Foundation of Christian Religion*, Boston, 1682; and (9) the Westminster Assembly's *Shorter Catechism*, Boston, 1740.

In the preparation of these notes I have made some use of Mr. Livermore's articles on the New England Primer,¹ printed in 1849, and of two articles on Catechisms, by Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, which were printed in the "Sunday School Times" in 1883.² The fifth article of Mr. Livermore's book, just mentioned, relates to "the catechisms, their origin and history, with some account of the authors and their contemporaries." My descriptions of the catechisms are made, in most cases, from the books themselves.

What catechism was most used, in the early part of the seventeenth century, by the Puritans in England, the Pilgrims at Leyden and Plymouth, and the first settlers on the Bay? The evidence seems to point to the Rev. William Perkins's *Six Principles of Christian Religion*.³ The author was born in 1558 and died in 1602. He was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, where he matriculated in 1577. In 1584 he was elected fellow of the college, and became catechist there, and afterwards lecturer at Great St. Andrews. From this time he began to be widely known as a preacher, and on account of his sympathy with the Puritan movement. His publications began about the year 1589, and their influence among the Puritans is said to have been but little inferior to that of the writings of Calvin and Hooker. There has been some uncertainty as to the date of the first edition of his catechism. Mr. J. Bass Mullinger, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, puts it at 1592; the British Museum has an edition of 1591; and the Livermore collection contains one dated

¹The Origin, History and Character of the New England Primer: being a series of articles contributed to the *Cambridge Chronicle*, by "The Antiquary." *Cambridge*: MDCCCXLIX. 4^o, (44) pp. These articles, eight in number, were contributed by Mr. Livermore to the *Cambridge Chronicle* for April 5, 12, 19 and 26, and May 3, 10, 17, and 24, of 1849. Twelve copies only were printed off in book form, of which the one used is No. 12, presented to Mr. Lenox in 1855.

²Dr. Trumbull's articles in the "Sunday School Times" are as follows: (1) *The New England Primer and its predecessors*, April 29 and May 6, 1882; (2) *Catechisms of Old and New England* (supplementary to the two former papers), September 8 and 15, 1883.

³For the titles of some other catechisms see the Appendix.

1590, which is probably the first edition, as it is one of the author's earliest publications. Its title is as follows:—

The | Foundation of Chri- | stian Religion, ga- | thered
into sixe | Principles. | And it is to be learned of ig- |
norant people, that they may be | fit to heare Sermons
with pro- | fit, and to receiue the | Lords Supper with |
comfort. | Psal. 119. 30. | The entrance into thy words
sheweth | light, and giueth vnderstanding to | the
simple. | [*London:*] Printed by Thomas Orwin for |
John Porter. 1590. | 8^o, (20) leaves. A—C⁴ in eights.
The title is within a pictorial border.

The epistle to the reader is as follows:—

"To all ignorant people that desire to be instructed.

Poore people, your manner is to sooth vp your selues,
as thogh ye wer in a most happy estate: but if the matter
come to iust triall, it wil fall out farre otherwise. For
yee lead your liues in great ignoraunce, as may appeare by
these your common opinions which follow.

1 That faith is a mans good meaning & his good seru-
ing of God.

2 That God is serued by the rehearsing of the ten
Commandements, the Lords praier, and the Creede.

3 That yee haue beleeued in Christ euer since you could
remember.

4 That it is pitie that he should liue which dooth anie
whit doubt of his saluation.

5 That none can tell whether he shall be saued or not
certainlie: but that al men must be of a good beliefe.

6 That howsoever a man liue, yet if hee call vpon
God on his death bedde, and say, *Lord haue mercie on me,*
& so goe away like a Lambe, he is certainly saued.

7 That, if anie be strangely visited, hee is either taken
with a Planet, or bewitched.

8 That a man may lawfully sweare when hee speakes
nothing but the truth: and swears by nothing but that
which is good, as by his faith or troth.

9 That a Preacher is a good man no longer than hee is
in the pulpet. *They thinke all like themselves.*

10 That a man may repent when he will, because the Scripture saith, *At what time soeuer a sinner doth repent him of his sinne, &c.*

11 That it is an easier thing to please God, than to please our neighbour.

12 That yee can keepe the Commandements, as well as God will giue you leaue.

13 That it is the safest, to doo in Religion as most doo.

14 That merrie ballads & bookes, as *Scoggin, Bewis of Southhampton, &c.* are good to driue away time, & to remoue hart quames.

15 That yee can serue God with all your hearts: and that yee would be sorrie else.

16 That a man need not heare so manie Sermons, except he could follow thẽ better.

17 That a man which cõmeth at no Sermons, may aswell beleue as he which heares all the sermons in the world.

18 That ye knowe all the Preacher can tell you: For he can say nothing, but that euery man is a sinner, that we must loue our neighbours as our selues, that euerie man must bee saued by Christ: and all this ye can tell aswell as he.

19 That it was a good world when the old Religion was, because all things were cheape.

20 That drinking and bezeling in the alehouse or tauerne is good fellowship, & shews a good kinde nature.

21 That a man may sweare by the Masse, because it is nothing now: and byr Ladie, because she is gone out of the Countrey.

22 That euerie man must be for himselfe, and God for vs all.

23 That a man may make of his owne whatsoeuer he can.

24 That if a man remēber to say his praiers in the morning (thogh he neuer vnderstād them) he hath blessed himselfe for all the daie following.

25 That a man praieth when he saith the ten Commandements.

26 That a man eates his maker in the Sacra.

27 That if a man be no adulterer, no theefe, nor murderer, and doo no man harme, he is a right honest man.

28 That a man need not haue any knowledg of religiō, because he is not book learnd.

29 That one may haue a good meaning, when he saith and dooth that which is euill.

These & such like sayings, what argue they but your grose ignorance? Now, where ignorance raigneth, there raignes sinne: & where sinne raignes, there the diuell rules: and where he rules, men are in a damnable case.

Ye will replie vnto me thus, that ye are not so bad as I would make you: if need be you can say the Creede, the Lords praier, & the 10. cōmandements: and therefore ye will be of Gods beleefe say all men what they will, and you defie the diuell from your hearts.

I answere againe, that it is not sufficient to say all these without booke, vnlesse ye can vnderstand the meaning of the words, and bee able to make a right vse of the Cōmandements, of the Creede, of the Lords praier, by applying them inwardly to your hearts and consciences, and outwardly to your liues and conuersations. This is the verie point in which ye faile.

And for an helpe in this your ignorance, to bring you to true knowledge, vnfaigned faith, and sound repentance: here I haue set downe the principall points of Christian Religion in sixe plaine & easie rules, euen such as the simplest may easely learne: and hereunto is adioyned an exposition of them word by word. If ye do want other good directions, then vse this my labour for your instruction: In reading of it first learne the six principles, & when ye haue them without booke, & the meaning of them withall, then learne the exposition also: which being well conceaued, & in some measure felt in the heart, ye shall bee able to profite by Sermons, whereas now ye cannot: and the ordinarie parts of the Catechisme, namely, the ten Commandements, the Creede, the Lords praier, and the institution of the two Sacraments, shall more easely be vnderstood. Thine in Christ Iesus: WILLIAM PERKINS."

The "Six Principles" are expressed in answer to the following questions:—

"*Question.* What doost thou beleene concerning God.

I. There is one God creator and gouernour of all things,

distinguished into the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost.

Q. What doost thou beleue concerning man: and concerning thine owne selfe.

II. All men are whollie corrupted with sinne thorough Adams fal: & so are become slaues of Sathan, and guiltie of eternall damnation.

Q. What meanes is there for thee to escape this damnable estate?

III. Iesus Christ the eternall sonne of God, being made man, by his death vpon the Crosse, and by his righteousness, hath perfectly alone by himselfe, accomplished all thinges that are needful for the saluation of mankinde.

Q. But how maist thou bee made partaker of Christ and his benefits?

IIII. A man of a contrite and humble spirit by faith alone, apprehending and applying Christ with all his merits vnto himselfe, is iustified before God and sanctified.

Q. What are the ordinarie meanes for the obtaining of faith?

V. Faith commeth onelie by the preaching of the word, and increaseth daylie by it, as also by the administration of the Sacraments, and praier.

Q. What is the estate of all men after death?

VI. All men shall rise againe with their own bodies to the last iudgement, which being ended the godly shal possesse the kingdome of Heauen: but vnbeleeuers and reprobates shal be in hel tormented with the diuel and his Angels, for euer."

The exposition of the Principles then follows, in form of question and answer.

This, then, is the book that has helped to form the early New England character and creed. It is stated on good authority that John Robinson was largely influenced by its author, and that he republished the catechism, some time during his Leyden residence, for the good of the young people of his congregation, appending a few pages of questions and answers "touching the more solemn fellowship of Christians."¹ No copy of "this first edition," says

¹ Dexter's *Congregationalism* (1880), pp. 372, 373.

Dr. Dexter, "with Robinson's appendix (which must have been previous to 1625) is known to exist." The Appendix was also published separately, and is extant in several editions, dated 1636 (the earliest known), 1642 (two editions), 1644, and 1656, as described below:—

An Appendix to Mr. Perkins his Six Principles of Christian Religion. By John Robinson. [*London?*] 1636. 8°, (16) pp. A copy was in the first Brinley sale (1879), No. 531, which was bought by Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull.

An Appendix to Mr. Perkins' Six Principles of the Christian Religion. By John Robinson. [*London?*] 1642. 8°. Title from Ashton's edition of Robinson's works.

A Briefe Catechisme concerning Church-Government, by that Reverend Divine, Mr. John Robinson, and may fitly be adjoynd to Mr. Perkins Six Principles, as appendix thereto. 1 Timothy iii. 14, 15. *London: Printed in the year 1642.* 8°. (British Museum.)

A | Ivst and Necessary | Apologie | of certain | Christ-
ians, | No lesse contumeliously then com- | monly called
Brovvnists, | or Barrovvists. | By Mr. Iohn Robin- |
son, Pastor of the English | Church at Leyden. | Pub-
lished first in latin in his and | the Churches name over
which he | was set: After translated into En- | glish by
himself, and now republished for | the speciall and com-
mon good of | our own countrymen. | . . . | [*Leyden?*]
Printed in the yeer of our Lord, | M.DC.XLIII. | 12°,
66, (6) pp. A-C in twelves. (Union Theological Semi-
nary; Massachusetts Historical Society.) Mr. Robin-
son's catechism, entitled "An Appendix to M. Perkins
his six principles of Christian Religion," begins on p.
66, and takes up the remaining six pages.

An Appendix to Mr. Perkins, his Six Principles of the Christian Religion; touching the more solemn fellowship of Christians (the Church of God) as being a Divine Institution. Very fit and necessary to be learned by all sorts of people in these perilous times. Acts ii. 47. [London:] Printed by J. L., for N. Bourne, and are to be sold at his shop, at the South Entrance of the Royal Exchange, in Cornhill, 1655. 8°.

This is the date (1655) given by Mr. Robert Ashton, in his edition of *The Works of John Robinson* (London, 1851), where the catechism is reprinted in vol. 3, pp. 421-436. In one place he refers to it as published in 1665, which is plainly a typographical error. The title given below, from the British Museum catalogue, is dated 1656:

An Appendix to Mr. Perkins his Six Principles of Christian Religion; touching the more solemn fellowship of Christians (the Church of God) as being a divine institution. London, 1656. 8°. (British Museum.)

The edition of 1655, according to Mr. Ashton, contains a preface, not found in the editions before-mentioned, written unquestionably by Mr. Robinson, in which he says:—

"Unto the former principles published by that reverend man, Mr. Will. Perkins, fully containing what every Christian is to believe touching God and himself, I have thought it fit, for the good of those especially over whom I am set (the younger sort of whom I have formerly catechised in private, according to the same principles), to annex a few others, touching the more Solemn Fellowship of Christians; the Church of God as being a Divine Institution, Rev. ii. 7; the Spiritual Paradise and Temple of the living God, 2 Cor. vi. 16; Rom. ix. 4; in which his most solemn services are to be performed; and to which he addeth daily such as he saved, promising to dwell in the midst of them by his most powerful and gracious presence.
JOHN ROBINSON."

The first two questions and answers in Robinson's catechism are :—

"Q. 1. What is the church?

A. A company of faithful and holy people, with their seed, called by the Word of God into public covenant with Christ and amongst themselves, for mutual fellowship in the use of all the means of God's glory and their salvation.

Q. 2. Of what sort or number of people must this company consist?

A. It is all one whether they be high or low, few or many; so as they exceed not such a number as may ordinarily meet together in one place for the worshipping of God and sanctification of the Lord's-day."

Perkins's catechism was printed many times in England;¹ it was reprinted in New England; it was translated by John Eliot into the Indian language of Massachusetts; and it was borrowed from by Abraham Pierson, in preparing

¹ Among the many editions of later date are the following :—

[London:] Printed by T. Orwin for I. Porter, 1591. 8°. (British Museum.)

London, 1592. 8°.

London, 1595. 8°. (British Museum, according to Mitchell's list.)

London, 1597. 8°.

Cambridge: J. Legatt, 1600. 4°. (In his collected works, British Museum.)

Cambridge, 1601. 8°.

Cambridge: J. Legatt, 1603. F°. (In his collected works, British Museum.)

Cambridge: J. Legatt, 1605-06. F°. (In his collected works, British Museum.)

[London:] Printed by John Legatt for J. Porter, 1606. 12°. (British Museum.)

Cambridge: J. Legatt, 1608-09. F°. (In his collected works, British Museum.)

London: J. Legatt, 1612-13. F°. (In his collected works, British Museum.)

London, 1615. 8°. (Bodleian.)

London: J. Legatt, 1616-18. F°. (In his collected works, British Museum.)

London, 1618. 8°. (Emmanuel College, Cambridge.)

London: Printed by J. Legatt . . . sold by R. Allott, 1629. 12°. (British Museum.)

London: J. Legatt, 1631. F°. (In his collected works, British Museum.)

London: Printed by J. Legatt, for R. Allott, 1633. 12°. (British Museum; Bodleian.)

London, Printed by John Legatt. 1635. F°. (In his collected works, Union Theological Seminary.)

London, Printed by John Legate, and are to bee sold by Robert Allot . . . 1635. 8°. (Library of the Church of Scotland.)

London, 1636. 8°. (Bodleian.)

London, 1641. 8°. Two editions. (Bodleian.)

London, 1677. 12°. (British Museum.)

London, 1682. 12°. (Brinley sale, No. 531.)

In Latin: *Hanoviae*, 1608. 8°. (British Museum; Union Theological Seminary.)

In Welsh: London, 1649. 12°. (British Museum.)

In Irish: Dublin, 1652. 12°. (British Museum.)

his Quiripi catechism entitled, *Some Helps for the Indians*, Cambridge, 1658. The only American edition I have found is in the Livermore collection. It bears the date of 1682, and has the following title:—

The | Foundation of | Christian Religion | Gathered into
Six | Principles. | And it is to be learned of ignorant
People | that they may be fit to hear Sermons | with
profit, and to receive the | Lords Supper with Com- |
fort. | Psal. 119. Ver. 133. | The entrance into thy
Word sheweth light, | and giveth understanding to the
simple. | By William Perkins. | *Boston in New-England*
| *Printed by Samuel Green, and sold | by Mary Avery*
near the Blue | Anchor in Boston. 1682. | 8°, title,
the Epistle in 3 leaves, the catechism pp. 1-39, notice
on p. (40).

In this edition the list of errors specified in the epistle to the reader is increased from twenty-nine to thirty-two, the three additions being:—

"30. That a man may go to Wizards called wise-men, for counsel: because God hath provided a salve for every sore.

31. That ye are to be excused in all your doings, because the best men are sinners.

32. The ye have so strong a Faith in Christ, that no evil company can hurt you."

The Six Principles, in question and answer, with the Scripture Proofs in full (which are not given in the original edition), fill pp. 1-11, ending with the following statement:—

"The Scriptures for proof were only quoted by the Author, to move thee to search them: the words them-

The two following are based on Perkins's work:—

(1) The Good Old Way, or Perkins improved, in a plain exposition and sound application of those depths of divinity briefly comprised in his Six Principles, by that late painfull and faithfull minister of the gospel, Charles Broxolme in Darbyshire. *London*, 1653. 8°. (British Museum.)

(2) A Short Catechisme holding forth and explaining the first Principles of the Oracles of God. *London*, 1646. 8°. (British Museum.)

selves I have expressed at the earnest request of many, that thou mayest more easily learn them: if yet thou wilt be ignorant, thy malice is evident; if thou gainest knowledge, give God the glory in doing of his will.

Thine T. S."

If these initials belong to Thomas Shepard, father or son, the inference would be that they first appeared in some edition of Perkins's catechism printed at Cambridge in New England, either during the lifetime of the elder Shepard, who died in 1649, or in the time of the younger Shepard, who died in 1677. The "Exposition" of the Six Principles, in question and answer, follows on pp. 12-39, and on page 40 (unmarked) is this note by the editor:—

"The foregoing Excellent Composure, (with his other VVorks) gave full occasion for this Epigram on its famous Author, who was lame in his Right Hand, but like another Ehud, did no small service to the English Israel."

"Dextra quantumvis fuerat tibi manca, docendi:
Pollebas mira Dexteritate tamen.

Though Nature Thee of thy Right Hand bereft,
Right well thou writest with the Hand that's Left."

We come now to the catechisms made in New England, and those used in certain New England towns. In June, 1641, the General Court of Massachusetts, at their meeting in Boston, "desired that the eld^{rs} would make a catechisme for the instruction of youth in the grounds of religion."¹ In other words, according to Winthrop, it "was ordered that the elders should be desired to agree upon a form of catechism which might be put forth in print."² Lechford stated,³ in 1641, that "there is no catechizing of children or others in any Church, (except in Concord Church, & in other places, of those admitted, in their receiving:) the reason given by some is, because when

¹ *Mass. Records*, i. 328.

² Winthrop's *History of New England* (Savage), vol. 2, p. 37.

³ *Plaine Dealing* (London, 1642), p. 20.

people come to be admitted, the Church hath tryall of their knowledge, faith, and repentance, and they want a direct Scripture for Ministers catechizing; As if, *Goe teach all Nations*, and *Traine up a childe in the way he should goe*, did not reach to Ministers catechizings. But, God be thanked, the generall Court was so wise, in Iune last, as to enjoyn, or take some course for such catechizing, as I am informed, but know not the way laid down in particular, how it should be done."

In 1642 a law about catechizing was passed by the General Court, which is here copied from the original printed digest of 1660, page 16 :—

"CHILDREN & YOUTH,

"Forasmuch as the good education of children is of singular behoofe & benefitt to any Common-wealth, & whereas many parents & masters are too indulgent & negligent of their duty in that kind. It is Ordered . . . Also that all masters of families, do once a week (at the least) catechise their children and servants in the grounds and principles of Religion, & if any be unable to do so much; that then at the least they procure such children and apprentices, to learn some short orthodox catechism without book, that they may be able to answer unto the questions, that shall be propounded to them, out of such catechism by their parents or masters or any of the Selectmen, when they shall call them to a tryall, of what they have learned in this kind."

The following title, from Haven's list of *Ante-Revolutionary Publications*, is probably based only upon the statement of Winthrop given above :—

A Catechism agreed upon by the Elders at the Desire of the General Court. *Cambridge*. [Daye.] 1641.

No record has been found of the publication of such an edition, and it may well be doubted that the elders ever agreed upon a uniform catechism. "The fact seems to

be," as Dr. Trumbull expresses it, "that the early Congregationalists in New England did not object to *catechizing*, but had some differences of opinion about *catechisms*; and, moreover, they regarded the catechetical instruction of the young as a duty of the *household*, rather than a distinct office of the church." Increase Mather, in speaking of catechisms, says: "These last Ages have abounded in labours of this kind; one speaketh of no less then five hundred Catechisms extant: which of these is most eligible, I shall leave unto others to determine. I suppose there is no particular Catechism, of which it may be said, it is the best for every Family, or for every Congregation."¹

The remarks of Cotton Mather are much to the same effect. "Few Pastors of Mankind," he says, "ever took such pains at *Catechising*, as have been taken by our New-English Divines: Now let any Man living read the most judicious and elaborate Catechisms published, a lesser and a larger by Mr. Norton, a lesser and a larger by Mr. Mather, several by Mr. Cotton, one by Mr. Davenport, one by Mr. Stone, one by Mr. Norris, one by Mr. Noyes, one by Mr. Fisk, several by Mr. Eliot, one by Mr. Seaborn Cotton, a large one by Mr. Fitch; and say, whether true Divinity were ever better handled."²

The first town to adopt the practice of catechising children was Concord, as mentioned in the extract from Lechford. The church there was organized in 1636, its teacher being the Rev. Peter Bulkeley, who was born in 1583, came to New England in 1634 or 1635, and died in 1659. Mr. Shattuck, in his *History of Concord* (1835), states that catechizing was one of the constant exercises of the Sabbath. "All the unmarried people," he says, "were required to answer questions, after which expositions and applications were made by Mr. Bulkeley to the whole congregation. This exercise was, however, soon after adopted

¹ Preface to Fitch's *First Principles of the Doctrine of Christ*, Boston, 1679.

² Mather's *Magnalia* (1702), book 5, p. 3.

in other churches." Salem and Boston were among the earliest to have printed catechisms of their own. Rowley, and probably Newbury, began about the same time, and then came, at intervals, Ipswich, Cambridge, Dorchester, Roxbury, Chelmsford, New Haven, Hartford, Hampton, Norwich, Andover, and several other places.

THE SALEM CATECHISMS.

[1641-1648?]

If we may judge by the material now at hand, Salem comes first among the New England towns, in point of time, with a printed catechism. The author was the Rev. Hugh Peters (born 1598, died 1660), who came to New England in 1635, and was chosen teacher of the first church in Salem in 1636. In August, 1641, he obtained leave from the church, and was sent to England on official business by the General Court of Massachusetts. It is likely that the recommendation of the General Court in the preceding June, about catechising and catechisms, influenced him in bringing out the publication described below, which was printed at London in 1641; and as he therein called himself, "now teacher in New England," it is evident that he intended to return to his Salem congregation, and that the catechism was prepared for their use. The title is as follows:—

Milke for Babes, and Meat for Men. Or, Principles necessary to be knowne and learned of such as would know Christ here or be known of him hereafter. By Hugh Peters, sometime lecturer at St. Sepulchre's, London, now teacher in New England. *London, Printed by E. P. for J. W.* 1641. 8°, 34 pp. (British Museum; New College, Edinburgh.)

Another Salem catechism seems to have been printed seven or eight years later. In a memorandum of several

books printed at Cambridge by Stephen Day, preserved among the Dunster manuscripts in the archives of Harvard University, for the knowledge of which I am indebted to Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis's paper on "The Cambridge Press,"¹ the following entry appears:—

"In Norriss's Katechism about 3 Rheam Paper 7. 10. 00"

The name of "Mr. Norris," and the valuation, are repeated in another column of the memorandum, preceded by the titles of the "Psa Booke" and "Law Booke." The six titles which precede the entry first mentioned are seemingly given in the order of their printing.² From this it would appear that Mr. Norris's Catechism was one of the last of Day's publications, and that it came from the press after the Law Book, probably in 1648 or 1649. Cotton Mather, as already quoted, mentions the book, but no copy is known to be extant. It is placed, provisionally, under Salem, because Elder Edward Norris, the associate of Rev. Hugh Peters in the first church there, was the best known person of the name, at that time. He came to New England, probably in 1639, was ordained as Mr. Peters's colleague in 1640, and had sole charge of the Salem church from 1641 to 1657, when Mr. John Whiting was called to assist him. Mr. Norris preached the election sermon in 1646, represented his church at the Cambridge Synod in 1647, and died in 1659. His son of the same name taught the grammar school in Salem from 1640 to 1671.³

In July, 1660, Mr. John Higginson was ordained minister of the Salem church. On September 10th it was voted

¹ *Proceedings of the Am. Ant. Soc.*, vol. 5 (1889), pp. 295-302.

² They are as follows, the dates being added in brackets:—

Freeman's Oath. [1639.]

Psa booke. [1640.]

The Capital Lawes. [1642.]

The Spelling Books. [164-?]]

The Declaration of the Narragansett Warr. [1645.]

The Lawe Booke. [1648.]

Norriss's Katechism. [1648?]]

³ Felt's *Annals of Salem* (1827), pp. 200-202.

"that Mr. Cotton's Catechism should be used in families for teaching children, so that they might be prepared for public catechising in the Congregation."¹ In November, 1675, it is stated that "according to notice from the General Court, Mr. Higginson revives his attention to the children of his Congregation. He proposed to chatechize them every second week on the 5th and 6th days as formerly."²

THE BOSTON CATECHISMS.

[1642-1669.]

Four Boston catechisms will be mentioned, two of them being by John Cotton, one by John Norton, and one by John Davenport. Cotton was teacher of the church in Boston from 1633 to his death in 1652, and Norton was associate and then teacher in the same church from 1652 to 1663. The first of Cotton's catechisms to be mentioned is the one for adults, which ran through the following editions:—

The Doctrine of the Church, to which is committed the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven. By John Cotton . . . *London*, 1642. 4°. (Bodleian.)

The | Doctrine of the | Church, | To which is committed the Keys of the | Kingdome of Heaven. | Wherein is demonstrated by way of Question and | Answer, what a visible Church is according to the order | of the Gospel: and what Officers, Members, Worship and | Government Christ hath ordained in the New Testament. | By that Reverend and learned Divine. Mr. Jo. Cotton, B. D. and Teacher of the Church at Boston, in New England. | *London: Benjamin Allen.* 1643. | 4°, 13 pp. Title from Sabin's *Dictionary*.

¹ Felt, p. 207.

² Felt, p. 251.

The | Doctrine | of the | Church, | To which are committed
the Keys of the | Kingdome of Heaven. | Wherein is
demonstrated by way of Question and | Answer, What
a visible Church is, according to the order | of the
Gospel: And What Officers, Members, Worship and |
Government Christ hath ordained in the New Testament.

| By that Reverend and learned Divine Mr. John Cot-
ton, | B. D. and Teacher of the Church in Boston in
New-England. | The Second Edition: | Printed accord-
ing to a more exact Copy; the Marginall | proofes in the
former Edition misplaced, being herein placed more |
directly; and many other faults both in the Line and
Margent, are | here Corrected: And some few proofes
and words are added in the | Margent, for the better
preventing or satisfying of some doubts in | some Con-
troversall Points. | . . . | London, | Printed for Ben:
Allen & Sam: Satterthwaite, and are to be sold in Popes
| head Alley and Budge-row. 1643. | 4^o, title and 13
pp. A-B in fours. (Lenox collection.)

Sabin's description differs from the above, and is as fol-
lows: The Second Edition, printed according to a more
Exact Copy, . . . London: *Benj. Allen and Sam. Satter-
thwaite.* 1644. 4^o, title and 14 pp.

The | Doctrine | of the | Church, | To which is committed
the Keys of the | Kingdome of Heaven. | Wherein is
demonstrated by way of Question and | Answer, What a
visible Church is, according to the order | of the Gospel:
And what Officers, Members, Worship, and | Govern-
ment Christ hath ordained in the New Testament. | By
that Reverend and learned Divine Mr. Jo. Cotton, B. D.
| and Teacher of the Church at Boston in New-England.
| The Third Edition: | More exactly corrected, the
Marginall proofes in | the former Edition misplaced,
being herein placed | more directly; and many other
faults both in the | Line and Margent, are here Cor-

rected. | . . . | *London, Printed for Ben: Allen, and are to be sold in Popes-head Alley.* 1644. | 4^o, title and 14 pp. A-B in fours. (Lenox collection.)

The first two questions and answers of Cotton's *Doctrine of the Church* are these:—

"*Question*, What is a Visible Church?

Answer, A Church is a mysticall body, wherof Christ is the Head, the Members be Saints, called out of the world, and united together into one Congregation, by a holy Covenant to worship the Lord, and to edifie one another, in all his holy Ordinances.

Qu. What sort of members hath God set in his Church?

Ans. Some that are Ministers or Officers in the Church; others commonly called by the generall name, which belongeth to all the Members, Brethren and Saints."

Cotton's other catechism is the one for children, entitled *Milke for Babes*—"that incomparable Catechism," as Cotton Mather calls it. The title was perhaps suggested by Crashaw's older work.¹ Appearing first in 1646, or earlier, it ran through many editions:—

Milk | For | Babes. | Drawn | Out of the Breasts of both
| Testaments. | Chiefly, for the spirituall nourishment
| of Boston Babes in either England: | But may be of

¹ *Milke for Babes. Or, A North-Countrie Catechisme. Made plaine and easie, to the Capacitie of the Countrie people. The Second Impression. By William Crashaw Batchellor in Diuinity, and Preacher of the Word. London, Printed by Nicholas Okes, and are to be sold by Thomas Langley . . .* 1618. 8^o. (British Museum.) The first edition was entered for publication in the Register of the Stationers' Company, Dec. 1, 1617.

Milke for Babes. Or, A North-Countrie Catechisme, made plain and easie to the capacity of the simplest, with household prayers for families and graces for children. The 4th Impression, corrected and enlarged by the author, William Crashaw, B. D., and Preacher of the Word of God at Whitechapell. London, Printed by Nicholas Okes, dwelling in Foster-lane. 1622. 8^o. (Emmanuel College, Cambridge.)

Milke for Babes, Or, A Countrey Catechisme, Made plaine and easie. With household Prayers for Families, and Graces for Children. The sixth Impression corrected and reuised by the Author William Crashaw, Batchellor in Diuinity. London, Printed by Nicholas Okes. 1633. 8^o.

Hugh Peters's catechism, *Milke for Babes, and Meat for Men*, is described among the Salem catechisms. Still another publication has the title:—

Milk for Babes: or, a Mother's Catechism for her Children . . . Whereunto also annexed Three Sermons. By Robert Abbot. London, 1646. 8^o. (British Museum.)

like use for any | Children. | By John Cotton, B. D. |
and Teacher to the Church of Boston | in New-England.
| *London*, | *Printed by J. Coe, for Henry Overton*, |
and are to be sold at his Shop, in | Popes-head Alley, |
1646. | 8°, 13 pp. (British Museum; Dr. Charles
Deane.)

Another edition, printed at London, in 1648, is also in
the British Museum, bound in the same volume with the
edition of 1646, with press-mark E. 1186. (15.) The old-
est known edition printed in New England has come down
to us in but a single copy, with title as follows:—

Spiritual | Milk | for | Boston Babes | In either England.
| Drawn out of the | Breasts of both Testaments | for
their souls nourishment | But may be of like use to any
| Children. | By John Cotton, B. D. | late Teacher to
the Church of | Boston in New-England. | *Cambridg* |
Printed by S. G. for Hezekiah Vsher | at Boston in
New-England | 1656. | 8°, (2), 13 pp. (Livermore
collection.)

The running heading is "Milk for Babes." On the back
of the title of this copy is the autograph signature of
"Jno. Hull," master of the mint, whose diaries are printed
in the third volume of our Society's *Transactions*. Hull
became a member of the first church in Boston, under John
Cotton's teaching, in 1648. The catechism begins:—

"*Q.* What hath God done for you?

Ans. God hath made me, He keepeth me, and He
can save me.

Quest. Who is God?

A. God is a Spirit of himself, and for himself.

Q. How many Gods be there?

Ans. There is but one God in three Persons, the
Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

Other editions were printed in 1665 (probably),¹ at Cambridge in 1668, and at London in 1668 and 1672.

Spiritual Milk for Babes. A catechism. By John Cotton. *Cambridge*, 1668. 8°, 13 pp. Title from the addenda to Haven's list.

Spiritual Milk for Babes. By John Cotton. *London*, 1668. 12°, (2), 12 pp. Title from Sabin's *Dictionary*.

Spiritual | Milk | for | Babes | Drawn out of the | Breasts
of both Testaments, | for their Souls Nourishment; |
and of great use for | Children. | By John Cotton, B.
D. | and Teacher to the | Church of Boston in | New-
England. | Corrected in Quotations by | L. H. 1665. |
*London: | Printed for Peter Parker, in | Popes-head-
Alley. | 1672. | 8°. (Library Company of Philadel-
phia.)*

The title of this edition is reproduced in facsimile in Smith and Watson's *American Historical and Literary Curiosities*, plate xv., verso. The statement that it was "Corrected in Quotations by L. H. 1665," may refer to the Rev. Leonard Hoar, who was in England from 1653 to 1672, where he published, in 1668, 1669 and 1672, editions of his *Index Biblicus*, the last one having the same initials signed to the dedication.

Milk for Babes, by John Cotton: with serious advice at the End. [*Boston: Printed by Samuel Green, 1690?*] 8°, 14 pp. "Mr. Bartholomew Green says—It [the serious advice] was wrote by Mr. Cotton Mather & Printed by Mr. Samuel Green." Title and note from Thomas Prince's manuscript catalogue, as quoted in Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, iii. 49.

Cotton's little catechism was finally incorporated in the *New England Primer*,² and in that form it came to be

¹ See title of the edition of 1672.

² See the bibliography in Ford's *New-England Primer*, pp. 299-308.

more widely known than any other catechism, excepting, of course, the Westminster Assembly's *Shorter Catechism*. An Indian translation is described in the section on "Indian Catechisms."

The Rev. John Norton was Cotton's successor in the church at Boston, where he remained from 1652 until his death in 1663. He was the author of two catechisms, a larger and a lesser. The first one was printed during his ministry at Ipswich, in 1648, and will be described later, as the "Ipswich Catechism." The other was printed during his Boston ministry, for the use of the children of his congregation. It has this title:—

A Brief | Catechisme | Containing | the Doctrine | of God-
lines, | or | of living vnto God. | By John Norton, |
Teacher of the Church at | Boston in New-England. |
*Cambridg | Printed by S. G. and M. J. | New-Eng-
land. | 1660. | 8^o, 22 pp. (Livermore collection;
Massachusetts Historical Society, lacking title.)*

According to the Rev. Thomas Prince's manuscript catalogue, in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, this catechism was first printed in 1660, and again in 1666. It begins thus:—

"The Doctrine of Godliness.

Quest. What is Divinity?

Answ. The Doctrine of Godliness, or of living unto God.

Quest. How many parts hath it?

Answ. Two: 1. Faith in God. 2. Obedience unto God.

Q. How many Gods are there?

Answ. One.

Q. How many Persons are there?

Answ. Three."

At the end are the Commandments, each followed by the questions: "What are we here commanded?" and "What are we here forbidden?"

A Brief Catechism. By* John Norton. *Cambridge*, 1666.
8°, 22 pp. Title from the addenda to Haven's list.

In September, 1667, shortly after John Wilson's death, John Davenport was called from New Haven to the First Church in Boston. He was ordained minister December 9, 1668, and died March 15, 1670, aged seventy-two years. In 1669 he published a catechism for the use of his new charge. No copy of this catechism has been found, and the only authority I have for the statement is the extract given below, copied from the appendix to the *Cambridge Platform* printed at Boston in 1701,¹ which contains, in five pages, "Some Collections For the Information of those that are not acquainted with the Principles and Practices of the First and most Eminent Leaders, in the Churches of Christ in New-England":

"The Reverend Mr. *John Davenport*, in his Catechism, Printed *Anno* 1669 for the use of the first Church in *Boston*, of which he was then Pastor; shows his concurrence with the *Platform of Church Discipline*, in matters Relating to Church Government."

THE ROWLEY CATECHISM.²

[1642.]

Ezekiel Rogers was the younger brother of Daniel Rogers, who composed a *Practicall Catechisme*, which ran through several editions.³ He was born about the year 1584, was graduated M.A. from Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1604, and became chaplain in the family of Sir Francis Barrington, in Essex, who obtained for him the living of Rowley in Yorkshire. In 1638 he removed to

¹This edition of the *Platform* was "Reprinted for the first Church of Christ in Boston, pursuant to a Vote of that Church, Febr. 10th, 1700-1." It was probably edited by Rev. James Allen, who had been Davenport's colleague. See A. B. Ellis's *History of the First Church* (Boston, 1881), p. 159.

²I am indebted to the Rev. Egbert C. Smyth, D.D., of Andover, for calling my attention to this catechism, and for indicating the sources of information.

³See the Appendix.

New England, with a large company of his townsmen, and in 1639 commenced a new settlement named Rowley. Here he remained as minister of the church until his death, January 23, 1661.¹ The catechism described below as having been "gathered long since for the use of an honourable family," was probably made while Rogers was in the service of Sir Francis Barrington. It seems not to have been published until 1642, when it was printed at London. Two editions have been traced:—

The Chief Grounds of Christian Religion set down by way of catechising, gathered long since for the use of an honourable family. By Ezekiel Rogers, Minister of God's Word, sometime of Rowley in Yorkshire, now in New England. . . . *London: Printed by I. L. for Christopher Meredith, at the sign of the Crane in Paul's Churchyard, 1642.* 8°. (Bodleian; New College, Edinburgh.)

The Chief Grounds of Christian Religion set down by way of catechising . . . By Ezekiel Rogers . . . *London, 1648.* 8°. (British Museum; Bodleian.)

The edition of 1642 is reprinted in Rev. Dr. Alexander F. Mitchell's *Catechisms of the Second Reformation* (London, 1886), pp. 53-64, from which source the above title and the opening questions, as below, are extracted:—

"*Question.* Wherefore hath God given to man a reasonable and an immortal soul?

A. That he above all other creatures should seek God's glory and his own salvation.

Q. Where is he taught how this is to be done?

A. In the Scriptures or Word of God.

Q. What are the Scriptures?

A. The Canonick books of the Old and New Testament.

¹Gage's *History of Rowley*, pp. 10-15, 55-67; J. A. Doyle in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Q. What do the Scriptures teach us?

A. The true knowledge of God and of ourselves."

The catechism is grouped under headings, as follows:—"The first generall head; of God," "The second generall head; of Man," "The first estate," "The second estate of misery," "The third estate of grace," "The fourth estate of immortality."

At the end is the text from Rev. 20. 6: "Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: for on such the second death hath no power."

In the work by Dr. Mitchell, referred to above, an attempt is made to trace out the sources of the several answers in the Westminster Assembly's *Shorter Catechism*; and those manuals which seem to have been most closely followed and deserve to be most carefully compared, are reprinted in full or in part. The conclusion to which he comes is stated in these words:—

"I may say generally, that so far as plan and the order of the questions or interrogatories is concerned, I still regard the little catechism of Ezekiel Rogers, who was a minister first in Yorkshire, and latterly in New England, as most closely resembling the Assembly's *Shorter Catechism*. The answers in his little treatise are much more simple and elementary, the exposition of the ten commandments is in the briefest possible form, and the verbal coincidences in individual answers are few. But all is there in miniature, and almost all in the same order as in the later and fuller catechism."¹

A little farther on he adds:—

"It contains in miniature almost all that is in the *Shorter Catechism* of the Westminster Assembly. It is decidedly similar to it in plan and type of doctrine, though the verbal coincidences are by no means so numerous as in some of the other catechisms reprinted in this volume."

¹ Mitchell's *Catechisms of the Second Reformation*, introduction, pp. xxxi, xxxii. See also the same author's *Westminster Assembly, its History and Standards* (London, 1883), p. 436.

THE NEWBURY CATECHISM.

[1642?]

The Newbury catechism, according to tradition, was published in compliance with the recommendation of the General Court in 1641.¹ It was composed by Mr. James Noyes, who was teacher of the first church there from 1635 to his death in 1656. The first edition has not been found, but copies of 1661 and 1676 are mentioned, and editions of 1694 and 1714 have been examined:—

A Short Catechism. By James Noyes. *Cambridge*, 1661. 8°, 16 pp. Title from the addenda to Haven's list.

A Short Catechism. By James Noyes. *Boston*, 1676. 8°, 15 pp. Title from the addenda to Haven's list.

A Short | Catechism | Composed | By Mr. James Noyes,
| Late Teacher of the Church of | Christ in | Newbury,
| in New-England. | For the use of the Children there.
| *Boston*, | Printed by Bartholomew Green. 1694. |
8°, 15 pp. (American Antiquarian Society.)

A Short | Catechism | Composed | By Mr. James Noyes,
| Late Teacher of the Church of | Christ in | Newbury,
| in New-England. | For the use of the Children there.
| *Boston*, | Printed by Bartholomew Green. 1714. |
8°, 15 pp. (Livermore collection.)

A Short Catechism. By James Noyes. *Newburyport*:
Printed by Barrett & March, 1797. 12°, 13 pp. Title
from Sabin's *Dictionary*.

The edition of 1714 is reprinted by Mr. Coffin in his *History of Newbury*, pp. 287–291. "It is the only copy," he says, "I have ever seen in Newbury, and was found

¹ Coffin's *History of Newbury* (1845), p. 33.

among the papers of Mr. Ichabod Coffin." Another copy was in Part III. of the Brinley sale, No. 5861. The catechism begins thus :—

"Quest. How do the Scriptures prove themselves to be true?

Answ. By the holiness of the matter, by the majesty of the style, by the accomplishment of the Prophecies, by the efficacy of their power on the hearts of men, besides the holy Ghost beareth witness, helping us to discern the truth of them.

Q. What is the sum of the Scriptures?

A. A Doctrine of a godly life.

Q. Wherein consists a godly life?

A. In the obedience of Faith."

Many of the questions are very brief, as the following specimens will show: What is Faith? What is Election? What is Reprobation? What is Sin? What is Original Sin? What is Actual Sin? What is Guilt? What is Punishment? What is Christ? What is Redemption? What is Vocation? What is Repentance? What is Justification? What is Adoption? What is Glorification? What is a Sacrament? What is Discipline? What is Hope? What is Love? What is Fear? What is Humility? What is Gratitude? What is Obedience? What is Goodness? What is Mercy? What is Meekness? What is Patience? What is Temperance? What is Chastity? What is Modesty? What is Gravity? What is Righteousness? What is Liberality? What is Frugality? What is Verity? What is Fidelity? The last question is one that would puzzle even some adults of now-a-days :—

What is Contentation?

The answer is :—

"A grace which inclineth us to accept our own portion, whether good or evil, with Thanksgiving."

THE IPSWICH CATECHISM.

[1648.]

This catechism was prepared by Mr. John Norton, who was born in 1606, graduated B.A. at Peterhouse College, Cambridge, in 1627, and came to New England in 1635. In 1636 he settled at Ipswich as minister of the church, of which he was formally ordained teacher, October 20, 1638. Here he remained until 1652, when he was called to the first church in Boston, on the death of John Cotton. Mr. Norton was also the author of a brief catechism for children, with a somewhat similar title, which is described among the Boston catechisms. The Ipswich catechism has this title:—

A Brief and Excellent Treatise containing the Doctrine of Godlinesse, or Living unto God. Wherein the Body of Divinity is substantially proposed and methodically digested, by way of Question and Answer . . . By John Norton . . . *London*, 1648. [1647, o. s.] 8°. (British Museum.)

THE CAMBRIDGE CATECHISM.

[1648.]

The Cambridge catechism was by Thomas Shepard, minister of the church there from 1636 to 1649. It was published first at London, with a preface "to the Christian Reader" by William Adderley, dated from Charterhouse in London, February 1, 1647 [1648, n. s.], and a joint opinion by John Gere and Will. Greenhill, dated March 27, 1648. No separate edition has been found, the editions described below having been appended to other works by the same author:—

The First | Principles | of the Oracles of | God. | Collected
| By Thomas Shepheard, | Sometimes of Emanuel-Col-
ledge. Now Preacher | of Gods Word in | New-Eng-

land. | . . . | *London*, | *Printed by M. Simmons*,
1648. | 12°. Appended to Shepard's *Certain Select
Cases Resolved*, 1648, of which it forms pp. 169-247.
(Boston Public Library.)

The First | Principles | of the | Oracles | of | God. | Col-
lected | By Thomas Shephard, | Sometimes of Emanuel-
Colledge. | Now Preacher of Gods Word | in New-
England. | . . . | *London*, | *Printed by W. Hunt*.
1650. | 8°. Appended to Shepard's *Certain Select
Cases Resolved*, 1650, of which it forms pp. 55-87.
(Lenox collection.)

The First | Principles | of the | Oracles | of | God. | Col-
lected by | Thomas Shephard, | Sometimes of Emanuel
College in | Cambridge, Now Preacher of | Gods Word
in New-England. | . . . | *London*, | *Printed for John
Rothwel*. 1655. | 8°, (5), 17 pp. (Lenox collection.)
This edition was originally appended to Shepard's *Theses
Sabbaticæ*, 1655, and the signatures run in continuation
of that volume, Z²—Aa⁴.

The First | Principles | of the | Oracles | of | God. | Col-
lected | By Thomas Shephard, | Sometime of Emanuel
Col- | ledge in Cambridge; Now | Preacher of God's
Word | in New-England. | . . . | [*London?*] *Re-
printed in the Year*, 1695. | 12°. Appended to Shep-
ard's *Certain Select Cases Resolved*, 1695, of which it
forms pp. 75-112. (Lenox collection.)

The | First Principles | of the | Oracles of God. | Col-
lected | By Thomas Shepard, | . . . | *Boston: Printed
and Sold by Rogers and Fowle in | Queen-Street*. 1747.
| 8°, (4), 27 pp. In the volume by Shepard entitled
Three Valuable Pieces, 1747. (American Antiquarian
Society.)

The edition of 1650 begins with the heading: "The Sum of Christian Religion: In way of Question and Answer. Delivered by Mr. Th. Shephard in N. E." Below are the first few questions and answers:—

"*Quest.* What is the best and last end of Man?

A. To live to God.

Q. How is man to live unto God?

A. Two waies. First, By Faith in God. Secondly, By observance of God.

Q. What is faith in God?

A. It is the first act of our Spirituall life, whereby the soule believing God, believeth in God, and there resteth as in the onely Author and Principle of Life."

THE DORCHESTER CATECHISMS.

[1650.]

There were two Dorchester catechisms, both by Richard Mather, who was teacher of the church from 1636 until his death in 1669. Cotton Mather thus refers to them: "He published *catechisms*, a lesser and a larger, so well formed that a Luther himself would not have been ashamed of being a learner from them."¹ As late as 1883, Dr. Trumbull stated that "no copy of either is now known." This may be true of the "lesser" catechism, but not of the "larger," printed in 1650, for a copy of the latter was in the possession of Mr. J. Wingate Thornton many years ago, and was described by him in the *Historical Magazine*, vol. 3 (1859), p. 24. On September 15, 1894, it came into the possession of our Society, by purchase from C. C. G. Thornton. Its title is as follows:—

A | Catechisme | Or, | The Grounds and Princi- | ples of
Christian Religion, set | forth by way of Question | and
Answer. | Wherein the summe of the Doctrine of |
Religion is comprised, familiarly opened, | and clearly

¹ Mather's *Magnalia* (1702), book 3, p. 128.

confirmed from the | Holy Scriptures. | By Richard Mather, Teacher to the | Church at Dorchester in New-England. | Hold fast the form of sound words which thou hast heard of me | in faith and love, which is in Christ Jesus. 2 Tim. 1. 13. | When for the time ye ought to be Teachers, ye have need that | one teach you again the first principles of the Oracles of God, | and are become such as have need of Milke, and not of strong | meat. Heb. 5. 12. | *London, | Printed for John Rothwell, and are to be sold at | his shop at the signe of the Sunne and Foun- | taine in Pauls Church-yard neer the little | North-gate.* 1650. | 12^o, (8), 124, (2) pp. (American Antiquarian Society.)

The volume contains Mr. Thornton's name written in it, and on the title is the manuscript inscription: "Ex Libris Ed. Wigglesworth," being the signature of the first Hollis professor of divinity in Harvard College, who died in 1765. In an address to the reader, by John Cotton and John Wilson, it is stated that:—

"Our reverend brother (according to the precious Talent of wisdom, and sound judgement given unto him, &c. out of his faithfull love to the flock of Christ) he hath compiled this ensuing platform of wholesome Doctrine, in way of a larger Catechisme: wherein you shall finde the summe of the Doctrine of Christian Religion, with pithy solidity and orderly dexterity digested together; and with clear evidence of truth confirmed from the holy Scriptures: and both with such familiar plainnesse of savory language, as (by the blessing of Christ) the simple honest-hearted Reader may be informed and established in the highest truths, and the most intelligent may be refreshed and comforted, in revising and recounting the treasures of wisdom and knowledge which they have received and embraced, and the grounds upon which they have believed; and all may be led on in the constant profession and practice of the faith and love which is in Christ Jesus."

The first few questions, with their answers, are these:—

"*Quest.* What is Catechizing?

Ans. An instructing of the people in the grounds, or principles, or fundamentall points of Religion.

Q. How are these Catechisticall, and fundamentall points called in the holy Scripture?

A. They are called the foundation, the first principles of the Oracles of God, the beginning of the doctrine of Christ, the entrance into Gods word, milk for babes, and the form of wholsom words.

Q. How may the warrantableness of this kind of teaching appeare?

A. Both by expresse testimony of Scripture, and because Catechising is nothing else but the drawing of the doctrine of Religion into briefe summes; and this hath plentifull warrant in the word."

An entry in the Dorchester town records, among the rules and orders about the schoolmaster's duties, which were passed the 14th of the first month, 1645, requires that "euy 6 day of the weeke at 2 of the Clock in the after-noone hee shall Chatechise his schollers in the principles of Christian religion, either in some Chatechism which the Wardens shall p'vide, and p'sent or in defect thereof in some other."¹ The following order was made in 1655:—

"Whereas the Generall Court out of Religious Care of the Education of the youth of this Coñmonwealth in the prenciples of Christian Religion hath enioyned the Select men of every Towne within there severall Lymetts to haue a vigilant eie to see that mens Cheldren and such as are within their Charge be Catechized in som Orthodox Catechisme in families: so as they may be redie to answer the Selectmen as they see tyme Convenient to examine them. Wee the Selectmen of this Towne of Dorchester for the tyme being in our obedience to Authoritie and in pursute of so vsefull and p'fitable a worke Do hereby will and require all parents masters and any that haue the Charge and oversight of any youth with in this Plantation that they be diligent to obserue this Iniuntion to Catechize there Cheldren servants and others with in there severall Charge

¹ *Dorchester Town Records* (Boston, 1883), p. 56.

in some sound and Orthodox Catechisme that they may be able to render account heareof when they shall be herevnto required either in the Church or privatly: as vpon advice shall be Judged most conducing to the generall good of all men. And faile not herein vpon such penaltie as the Court shal see reson to inflict vpon Information giuen against such as shalbe found Delinquent herein: this 11 of the 12: m^o 1655."¹

On the 2d of the last month, 1656, there was recorded "a memorandome that the Gran Jurymen were with us to speake with us aboute som things that they thought were lyable to bee presented as namly this that the Chatecysing of Children is neglected in ower towne."²

In 1665, it seems that a new edition of one of the catechisms had been printed, for it was then voted that "the new impression of Mr Mathers Catechismes should be payd for, out of a Towne Rate, and so the books to become the Towns." Anthony Fisher was authorized to pay £4. 10s. for the printing of said catechism, and the books were distributed to each family in town by the elders, the selectmen and Deacon Capen.³ No copy of this "new impression" has been found.

THE ROXBURY CATECHISM.

[1650?]

The only authority for this publication is the Dunster manuscript previously mentioned, as printed in Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis's paper on "The Cambridge Press."⁴ The entry comes in a list of several books printed at Cambridge by Samuel Green, during the first five years of his management of the press, and it is placed between

¹ *Dorchester Town Records*, p. 73.

² *Dorchester Town Records*, p. 84.

³ *History of Dorchester* (1859), pp. 202, 203; *Dorchester Town Records*, pp. 126, 127, 135.

⁴ *Proceedings of the Am. Ant. Soc.*, vol. 5 (1889), pp. 295-302.

the "Sinod Books" [Cambridge Platform] of 1649 and the Psalm Book of 1651, as follows:—

"Mr Danforth's Katechism	10 00 00
abate for printing & paper	6 00 00
	<hr/>
	4 00 00
Cost	4. 00. 00
& a 100 books	1. 00. 00
	<hr/>
	5. 00. 00"

As the person referred to is probably the Rev. Samuel Danforth of Roxbury, the catechism is placed under the heading of that town. Mr. Danforth was born in England in 1626. He was brought to New England in 1634, was graduated at Harvard College in 1643, and was ordained as colleague to Rev. John Eliot at Roxbury, September 24, 1650. He died in 1674.¹ If he is the author of this catechism, it was most likely printed at Cambridge not long after his ordination, in 1650 or 1651. No copy is known to be extant.

THE CHELMSFORD CATECHISMS.

[1657-1796.]

The town of Chelmsford was settled in 1653, and in 1655 the Rev. John Fiske removed to it from Wenham, with the greater part of his congregation. Mr. Fiske was born in 1601, came to New England in 1637, became pastor of the Wenham church (then part of Salem village) in 1644, and died at Chelmsford, January 14, 1676-7. At the earnest solicitation of the inhabitants of Chelmsford, to compose a new catechism for the use and instruction of their children, he prepared and published, at the cost of the town, the following:—

¹ See C. M. Ellis's *History of Roxbury Town* (1847), p. 96; F. S. Drake's *Town of Roxbury* (1878), pp. 140-142; and Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, i. 88-92.

The | Watering of | the | Olive Plant | in Christs Garden.
 | Or | A Short Catechism | For the first Entrance of our
 | Chelmesford Children : | Enlarged by | A three-fold
 Appendix | By John Fisk Pastour of the | Church of
 Christ at Chelmesford | in New-England. | Thy Children
 shall be like Olive-plants | round about thy Table. Psal.
 128. 3. | Those that be planted in the House of the |
 Lord, shall flourish in the Courts of our God. | They
 shall still bring forth fruit in old | Age &c: Psal. 92.
 13, 14. | *Printed by Samuel Green at Cambridg | in*
New-England. 1657. | 8^o, 88 pp. (Livermore col-
 lection.)

The address of two pages, "To the Church & Congregation at Chelmsford, Grace & Peace, through Jesus Christ," is as follows :—

"Beloved, What is here presented to Publick view is yours : for looking to the poor-Penman, as Relating to you : to the external moving Cause, as arising firstly & freely from you, to the End & use as centering in you, to the reason of the Publishing thereof, as resting with you, and the care & costs, as to that end expended by you : It must not otherwise be determined but YOURS. Which being so, you have saved me the labour, of prefacing on behalfe, either of this so necessary & fruitfull an exercise of Catechising, or of this present draught : or of publishing it. The present encumbrances of our new-begining you know to have declined me till of late, from the former, and mine own inabilities much more from the latter, as being rather desirous to have made use of some others labours that way, or at least-wise to have acted mine own feeble apprehensions in a more private manner amongst our selves. But God hath moved your minds, first to see, and seeing to cause, as it must be as it is. I shall add only a word or two touching use ; 1. The Scripture quotations in the margent, are so severed by those distinct marks as it is not hard to discern to which answer they pertayn. 2. They are orderly set down (for the generall) as they relate to the severall sentences or parts in the answers. 3. Where more then one, are mentioned to the

same purpose, it is not without special cause, and may serve for help of memory, when we may have occasion to branch out such a subject, into its particulars. 4. Profitably you may reduce Promises to their proper heads in the Lords Prayer, and Dutyes or faylings to their proper places in the Decalogue. As for the annexing of these with the Doctrine of the Sacraments, by way of Appendix, It is because the same will more suit with such capacities as are allready entered, then such as are but in their enterance. I say no more but this, If now you & yours, (as is hoped) shall gain any Spiritual fruit by these poor weak Travells of mine, I have my desire: and no small encouragement, in the midst of many wilderness-discouragements. To His Blessing therefore I commit both you & yours, who is the God of all Blessing: and Rest

Yours in the Lord

JOHN FISKE.

Chelmesford this
25 of 1. mo: 1657."

The catechism (pp. 5-16) has the running heading, "The Olive-Plant watered," and begins thus:—

"Q. Who made thee, or gave thee thy Being?

Ans. God, the giver of Beings.

Quest. What is God?

Ans. The Maker, Preserver and Governour of all things.

Q. Are there not more Gods than one?

A. No, there is but One God in three Persons; the Father, Son, and Holy-Ghost."

The "three-fold Appendix," mentioned in the title, fills pp. 16-88, and is divided thus: "First touching Prayer," pp. 16-41; "Second touching the Nature and use of the two Sacraments of the Gospel," pp. 41-50; and "Third touching Obedience and the Rule thereof," pp. 50-88.

A copy of this edition was used by Mr. Allen, in his *History of Chelmsford* (Haverhill, 1820), where some extracts from it are printed. We learn from the addenda to Haven's list that there was subsequently published an:—

Appendix of Catechism, Touching Church Government.
By John Fiske. * *Cambridge*, 1668. 8^o, 16 pp.

There was another Chelmsford catechism published many years after, in 1796, which is somewhat of a curiosity. It was prepared by Rev. Hezekiah Packard, who was minister of the Chelmsford church from 1793 to 1802. It has this title :—

A | Catechism, | containing | The First Principles | of |
Religious and Social Duties. | Adapted to the Capacities
of Children and Youth, | and | Beneficial to Heads of
Families. | By Hezekiah Packard, | Minister of Chelms-
ford. | . . . | *Printed by Samuel Hall, No. 53, Corn-*
hill, Boston. | 1796. | 12^o, 84 pp. (American Antiqua-
rian Society.)

The book has the following dedication : "To impartial Inquirers after Truth ; To real Patrons of the Christian Faith ; and To sincere Followers of Christ, our Lord and Master, This Catechism, Designed for the Benefit of the rising Generation, Is humbly dedicated by the Author, Who wishes to be numbered with such Inquirers, is a Professor of the same Faith, and a Servant of the same Master."

Prefixed is the recommendation of a committee of three, Joseph Willard, Simeon Howard and David Tappan, in which they say :—

"Though the Catechism in common use be, in the main, an accurate, learned, and comprehensive summary, which reflects much honor on its venerable Compilers ; yet many parts of it, both in sentiment and language, greatly exceed the capacities of children ; and thus tend not only to fill their memories with mere words and phrases, but to induce an early habit of substituting these in the room of ideas, yea, of considering them as the very substance of religion."

Another recommendation, signed by Henry Cumings, of Billerica, states that :—

"This catechism has one obvious excellence to recommend it, which is, That it meets all denominations of christians upon harmonious ground, neither embracing nor censuring the distinguishing peculiarities of different persuasions."

Part second contains "A Political Catechism, designed to lead Children into the Knowledge of Society, and to train them to the Duties of Citizens," the first question being: "What is Civil Government?" Part third was "designed for the benefit and instruction of young people and heads of families."

The first three questions and answers of the first part are :—

Question. Can you tell me, child, who made you?

Answer. God made me, and all things in Heaven and earth.

Q. For what end and design did God make you?

A. God made me to know and do His will, and to praise and enjoy Him forever.

Q. What must you do to please and enjoy God forever?

A. I must love and serve God ; I must love and obey my Parents ; I must speak the truth, and be just and kind."

THE NEW HAVEN CATECHISM.

[1659.]

John Davenport, the principal author of this catechism, was born in 1597, came to New England in 1637, and in 1638 was one of the founders of New Haven. He was pastor of the church there from 1638 to 1667, when he was called to Boston, where he died in 1670. In 1644 or 1645, William Hooke was associated with Davenport as teacher in the New Haven church. Hooke returned to

England in 1656, where he died in 1677. The catechism here described¹ contains the two names as joint authors :—

A | Catechisme | containing the | Chief Heads | of |
Christian Religion. | Published, at the desire, and for
the | use of the Church of Christ at | New-Haven. |

By { John Davenport, Pastor.
And
William Hooke, Teacher.

*London: | Printed by John Brudenell, and | are to be
sold by John Allen | at the Sign of the Sun-Rising in |
St. Pauls Church-yard, 1659. | 8°, 54 pp. (Yale
University; British Museum; Williams Library, Lon-
don.)*

On the back of the title is an advertisement of books printed for John Allen. The catechism begins on page 3 with :—

Qu. What is true Religion?

Answ. A wisdom from above, whereby we live unto God.

Qu. How may a man live unto God?

Answ. By faith in God, and obedience towards God.

Qu. What is faith in God?

Answ. It is the first act and meanes of spirituall life, whereby the soul, believing God, resteth in God, as in the only Author and principle of life."

In 1853 the catechism was reprinted as below, under the editorship of Rev. Leonard Bacon :—

Ancient Waymarks. | A Profession of Faith, | By John
Davenport, | at the Institution of the | First Church in
New Haven; | and the New Haven Catechism, | originally
prepared for that Church, | By | John Davenport, Pastor,

¹The titles and description of Davenport's New Haven catechism have been furnished by the courtesy of Prof. Franklin B. Dexter, Secretary of Yale University. The title of the original edition is entered anonymously in the "Catalogue of the Library in Red Cross Street, Cripplegate; founded pursuant to will of the Reverend Daniel Williams." (London, 1841), vol. 2, p. 69.

| and | William Hooke, Teacher. | With a Preface, |
By | Leonard Bacon, | Pastor of the same Church. |
New Haven: | Printed by B. L. Hamlen, | Printer to
Yale College. | 1853. | 12°, 72 pp. (Yale University.)

For another catechism by Davenport, printed in 1669 for the use of the First Church in Boston, see the account of Boston Catechisms.

THE HARTFORD CATECHISM.

[Before 1663?]

Hartford had a catechism at an early date, under the ministry of Rev. Samuel Stone, who came to New England in 1633, and was teacher of the church at Hartford from 1636 until his death in 1663. No record has been found, however, of its having been printed during his lifetime, and it may have been used for some time in manuscript copies only. The earliest edition known was published in 1684, for use in Farmington, Hartford County, under the direction or at the expense of John Wadsworth, one of the two men in the town, besides the minister, who bore the appellation of "Mister." Mr. Wadsworth was one of the standing Council during Philip's war, having been Deputy from 1672 to 1677, and Assistant from 1679 until his death in 1689. Mr. Brinley's copy of this edition (No. 867) was bought for the Watkinson Library, Hartford. Below is a description of the Livermore copy :—

A Short | Catechism | Drawn out of the | Word of God. |
By Samvel Stone, Minister | of the Word at Hartford,
| on Connecticot. | *Boston in New-England, | Printed*
by Samuel Green, for John Wadsworth | of Farmin[g]-
ton, 1684. | 8°, 15 pp. (Livermore collection ; Watkin-
son Library.)

On the last (blank) page of the Livermore copy is written : " Elizbth Ellis mother died November : 83," and below,

in another hand, "John Marion His Book." The questions in this edition begin as follows :—

"*Quest.* What is Divinity or Religion?

Answ. A Doctrine of living well.

Q. What is it to live well?

A. To will the good Will of God.

Q. What are the parts of Divinity?

A. Faith in God, and Observance towards God.

Q. What is Faith in God?

A. A confidence in trusting in the name of God for life."

It was printed again as below :—

A | Short | Catechism | Drawn out of the | Word | of |
God. | By Samuel Stone, | Minister of the Word at
Hartford in | Connecticut. | *Boston, Printed by J.*
Franklin, for D. Henchman, 1720. 8°, title and 13
pp. (Watkinson Library.)

This copy of the 1720 edition, said to be "hardly less rare than the first [1684] edition," was in the Brinley sale, No. 5862.

Mr. Stone also left in manuscript, "A Body of Divinity, in a catechetical way," of which several copies are extant.¹ Cotton Mather states that "This Rich Treasure has often been Transcribed by the vast Pains of our Candidates for the Ministry; and it has *made* some of our most Considerable Divines. But all Attempts for the Printing of it, hitherto proved Abortive."² The widow of Mr. Stone married George Gardner, a merchant of Salem. In October, 1683, her son, Samuel Stone, of Hartford, brought an action against the administrator of her estate, "for unjust detaining from him the product of a certain book or Cate-

¹ One ms. of this work, 540 pp. in quarto, is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and another is in the Watkinson Library at Hartford. See Winthrop's *History of New England* (Savage), vol. 1, p. 108, note; and G. L. Walker's *History of the First Church in Hartford* (1884), p. 180.

² Mather's *Magnalia* (1702), book 3, p. 118.

chism bequeathed to him by his Father, and sold by his mother, Mrs. Gardner, to the value of sixty pounds."¹

THE HAMPTON CATECHISM.

[1663.]

The Hampton catechism was made by Mr. Seaborn Cotton, John Cotton's eldest son, who was born on the ocean voyage to New England in 1633. He was a graduate of Harvard College, and began to preach at Hampton, then in Massachusetts but now in New Hampshire, in 1657. He was ordained in 1658, and died in 1686.

The latest historian of Hampton repeats the statement of Dr. Cotton Mather, that Seaborn Cotton was the author of a catechism, but he adds, "we know nothing of the character of this work, nor whether any copies are still extant."² Mr. Sabin, in his *Dictionary of Books relating to America*, copies the title from Thomas Prince's MS. catalogue of his New England Library, and adds: "I have met with no other notice of the pamphlet, which has probably perished." Prince's title is: "Brief Summ of y^e Cheif Articles of y^e Xⁿ Faith — a Catechism. Camb. 1663. 8^o, pp. 36. This is s^d to be By Mr Seaborn Cotton, in y^e Title Page, in y^e Hand-Writing of —." Even Mr. Sibley was not able to trace a copy, and had to content himself with Prince's account, for his *Harvard Graduates*. The description below is from the Livermore copy:—

A | Brief Summe | of the cheif articles | of our Christian
Faith, | Composed | in way of | Question and Answer,
| Now | Published, especially for the Benefit of | the
Town of | Hampton. | *Cambridg* | Printed by *Samuel*
Green, 1663. | 8^o, title and 36 pp. (Livermore col-
lection.)

The first few questions and answers are:—

¹ *Historical Magazine*, vol. 3 (1859), pp. 58, 59.

² Dow's *History of the Town of Hampton* (Salem, 1893), vol. 1, p. 369.

" *Quest.* What is Divinity?

Answ. It is the Doctrine of living well.

Quest. How many parts hath it?

Answ. Two, Faith in God, and Observance toward God.

Quest. What is Faith in God?

A. A confidence grounded upon knowledge, whereby God is trusted in, for life."

At a town meeting, in Hampton, 25 March, 1664, it was "voted, and agreed, y^t those y^t are willing to have their children called forth to be catechised, shall give in their names to Mr. Cotton for that end, between this and the second day of next month."¹

THE NORWICH CATECHISM.

[1679.]

The author of the Norwich catechism was the Rev. James Fitch, one of the first settlers of the town, in 1660, and its first minister. He was born in the County of Essex, England, in 1622, came to New England in 1638, and died in 1702. In 1679 the catechism was printed, with the following title:—

The first P[r]inciples of the Doctrine of | Christ ; | Together
with stronger Meat for them that | are skil'd in the Word
of Righteousness. | Or | The Doctrine of living unto
God, wherein the | Body of Divinity | Is Briefly and
methodically handled by way of | Question and Answer.

| Published at the desire, and for the use of | the Church
of Christ in Norwich in | New-England. | By James
Fitch Pastor | of that Church. | Psal. 34. 11. Come ye
Children, hearken unto me, I will | teach you the fear
of the Lord. | 2 Tim. 1. 13. Hold fast the form of
sound words | which thou hast heard of me, in Faith
and Love | which is in Christ Iesus. | *Boston, Printed*

¹ Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, vol. 1, p. 289.

by *John Foster*. 1679. | 8°, (8), 76, (2) pp. (Livermore collection; Watkinson Library.)

The address "To the Reader" is signed by Increase Mather, and dated, "Boston, 4. m. 23. d. 1679." In it he says :—

"As for the worthy Author, although the Lord hath seen meet to fix his present station not only in a wilderness, but in one of the obscurest places therein, yet is his praise in the Gospel throughout all the Churches. And by what is here presented, (as well as by other things formerly published) it doth appear that the Author is a Workman that needeth not to be ashamed. For here is not only Milk for Babes in respect to Principles, with much solid dexterity asserted, but strong Meat in respect of rational explications, and Demonstrations of those Principles, that the ablest men, who have their senses exercised in discerning things of this nature, may be edified."

Each answer is followed by an exposition and definition. The first questions are :—

Q. What is Religion?

A. Religion is a Doctrine of living unto God, and consists of two parts, Faith and Observance.

Q. What is Faith?

A. Faith is the first part of Religion, and is a trusting in God for life, proceeding from a grounded knowledge of God, as he hath made known himself in his sufficiency, and in his efficiency."

The last page contains on one side, the form of Church Covenant, and on the other a list of errata.

On page 76 of the Livermore copy is the following manuscript memorandum: "Read June 1720. Read 1741." The Watkinson Library copy was from the Brinley sale, No. 768.

A writer in the *Historical Magazine*, vol. 3 (1859), pp. 59, 93, describes as a catechism another work by Mr. Fitch, which is not a catechism at all.

THE ANDOVER CATECHISM.

[1738.]

The catechism for Andover was prepared by Rev. Samuel Phillips, minister of the South Parish there, from 1710 to 1771. It is dedicated "To the Children under my Pastoral Care," March 30th, 1738, and has the title:—

The Orthodox Christian : | Or, | A Child | well instructed
in the | Principles | of the | Christian Religion : | Exhib-
ited in a Discourse by Way of | Catechizing. | Designed
for the Use and Benefit of the | Children, in the South
Parish in Andover : | To whom it is Dedicated. | By
Samuel Phillips. M. A | And V. D. M. | Published at
the Desire of many of his own People, | and of some
others. | 2 Tim. I. 13. Hold fast the Form of sound |
Words. And, | Eph. 4. 14. Henceforth, be no more
Children, | tossed to and fro, and carried about with
every Wind | of Doctrine ——. | *Boston, Printed by*
S. Kneeland; and T. Green, | for D. Henchman in
Cornhil. 1738. | 12^o, (4), viii, 135, (7) pp. (Liver-
more collection.)

Prefixed is the half-title: "Mr. Phillips's | Well in-
structed | Child." The dedication begins:—

"My dear Children, I do, here, according to Promise,
present to your View, the principal Things, to be known
and believed, to be done and practised, by you, in order
to Salvation : And altho' it cannot be expected, that you
should commit the *whole* to Memory ; yet, I trust, that you
will be so just to me, and so kind to your selves, as fre-
quently to peruse the same ; and to regard it, not only as
the fruit of my Studies, at some Leisure-Hours ; but also,
and *especially*, as comprising the *Sum* and Substance of
Religion, both Natural and Revealed.

* * * * *

I am aware, that some have form'd a Scheme contrary
to this, at least, in some Articles ; I mean, those who *deny*

the Doctrines of particular Election, original Sin, particular Redemption, efficacious Grace, and Perseverance.— But truly, after the most *exact* Search that I can make, I cannot help thinking, that the Doctrines, which are here delivered, not only those relating to the Points now mentioned, but others also, are Doctrines according to Godliness; most consonant to the holy Scriptures, and most agreeable to the Reason and Nature of Things, as well as to the Writings of Orthodox and *Calvinistical* Divines; from some *few* of which, I have, *of Choice*, taken the Liberty to borrow, *here a little*, and *there a little*, as they came in my Way; neither shall I make any Apology for my so doing, in a Performance of *this* Nature.

It is swell'd much beyond my first Intention; and it would have much more still, had I not dismiss'd many Thoughts,—lest it should prove too tedious.

You see, *my Children*, that it comes forth (like the *foregoing* one) by way of Question and Answer; as also, in a plain Method, and easy Style; and if I may hereby, both please, and profit, entertain and improve *you*, I shall attain *my End*, that is to say, provided, *you* give unto God all the *Glory*.

For,

What I intend by it, is, not only to acquaint *you* with the Articles of *my* Belief; but *especially*, to help *you*, in some Measure, to understand your common *Catechism*; and to lead *you* on, to discountenance and decry those Doctrines, which tend to cherish *Pride*, *Security*, *Slothfulness*, and *Licentiousness* in Men, and then to sink 'em by *Despair*; because such Doctrines are *not* of *God*: And, on the other Hand, to embrace and profess those, that serve to *humble* Men, and to *quicken* them to, and *encourage* them in, Well doing; And at the same Time, to *exalt* the free Grace of *God*, in and thro' our *Lord Jesus Christ*.— To which *good* Ends, the Doctrines *herein advanced*, do mightily serve; and more especially those of original Sin; of particular Election; particular Redemption; the Necessity of efficacious Grace, for the beginning, carrying on, and perfecting the good Work in us; and of Justification by the Imputation of our Saviour's Righteousness unto us; as also, that of final Perseverance.—

Wherefore,

Next to your *BIBLE* and *Catechism*, I recommend *this*

little Book, to your frequent, and serious perusal; hoping, that by means of *these*, together with that *Epitome of the History of our Saviour*, lately published, *all* being accompanied with the *Teaching* of the *Holy Spirit*, you will become, as you grow up, intelligent and judicious Christians."

The delightful entertainment that was provided for the child is foreshadowed in the opening paragraphs:—

Minister. I am very glad, Child, that we have the Opportunity of meeting again, at the appointed Time, and Place.

Child. I am so likewise: And I must needs say, Sir, that I have thought the Interval longer than common.

Min. I rejoice to hear it; I hope then, that you take Delight in such Opportunities.

Ch. I think, I do Sir: And, I desire to be very thankful to God for it.

M. What you have said, gives me great Encouragement to proceed; and, if you please, we will enter, now, without any further Introduction, upon the intended Exercise.

C. With all my Heart, Sir."

At the end of the catechism is a page of Errata, and then "To supply a few vacant Pages the following Hymns from Dr. Watts are here inserted," filling the last six pages. The copy here described bears the manuscript inscription on the fly-leaf: "For his Son William Phillips," and has the autograph: "George Livermore, Dana Hill, Cambridge, 1840."

THE SANDWICH CATECHISM.

[1793.]

The Rev. Jonathan Burr, the author of this catechism, graduated from Harvard College in 1784, and was minister of the church in Sandwich from 1787 to 1818. He was one of the founders of Sandwich Academy, and died in 1842, aged 85 years. The catechism is entitled:—

A | Catechism, | in Four Parts. | Compiled for the assistance of | Parents, | in the instruction of their | Children | in the first principles of | Piety and Morality | . . . | Printed at Boston, | by I. Thomas and E. T. Andrews, | Faust's Statue, No. 45, Newbury Street. | MDCCXCH. | 12^o, 24 pp. (American Antiquarian Society.)

On the back of the title is the following notice:—

"To Rev. Mr. Jonathan Burr. Sir, Your proposal of statedly catechising, and judicious selection for that purpose, were received, by the people of your charge, with approbation and a grateful sense of your benevolence and pious care to cultivate, in the tender minds of their children, the principles of virtue and religion.

In full parish meeting, they unanimously directed us the subscribers to present you their thanks, and request a copy, for the press, of the proposed Catechism; which, with this testimony of their hearty concurrence in your laudable design, they have ordered to be printed.

We are very happy, Sir, in complying with their direction; and are in their names, as well as our own, your most obedient humble servants,

NATHANIEL FREEMAN,
JOSEPH NYE,
M. BOURN.

SANDWICH, February, 1793."

The first few questions are:—

"*Question.* Can you tell me, child, who made you?

Answer. God made me and all things.

Q. For what end did God make you?

A. To be good and happy.

Q. What must you do to be good?

A. I must love and reverence God; love and obey my parents; speak the truth always; and be just and kind to all persons."

THE HINGHAM CATECHISMS.

[1794–1817.]

The authors of the first Hingham catechism were Daniel Shute and Henry Ware. The former was minister of the

Second (formerly the Third) Church in Hingham from 1746 to his death in 1802. He was a delegate to the Massachusetts and Federal Conventions. Rev. Dr. Ware was minister of the First Church from 1787 to 1805, when he was chosen Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard College. He died in 1845, aged 81 years. Their joint catechism appeared with this title:—

A | Compendious and Plain | Catechism, | designed for
the | benefit | of the | rising generation, | and | Recommended to the attentive Use | of | Heads of Families |
in the | Education of their Children, | as adapted to
improve them | in piety and virtue. | It is better to die
without Children, than to have them that | are ungodly.
Son of Sirach. | Train up a Child in the Way he should
go; and when he | is old, he will not depart from it.
Solomon. | Suffer little Children to come unto me;—for
of such is the | Kingdom of God. Jesus Christ. | *Printed
by Samuel Hall, No. 53, Cornhill, Boston, 1794. | 12°,
34 pp. (Livermore collection.)*

The address: "To the Respectable Inhabitants of Hingham," signed by Daniel Shute and Henry Ware, states that "the model of instruction presented in this pamphlet is, in part, extracted from the catechism of the pious and learned Dr. Watts, with a little variation, and some additional questions and answers."

The first questions and answers are:—

"Q. Can you tell me, child, who made you?

A. The great God, who made heaven and earth.

Q. Why did the great God make you and all other creatures?

A. Perfectly happy in himself, his infinite goodness led him to make me, together with all other creatures, for the communication of happiness.

Q. Does God treat his creatures agreeably to this end in making them?

A. Yes; he is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works."

In 1807 the Third Church of Hingham was formed, Rev. Henry Colman being its pastor until 1820. He prepared the following:—

Catechisms | for | Children and Young Persons. | In two
parts. | Part I. | Containing a | Catechism for Children.
| Part II. | Containing a | Catechism for Young Persons.
| By Henry Colman, | Minister of the Third Church in
Hingham, Mass. | Boston: | Printed by John Eliot. |
1817. | 18^o, 36 pp. (Livermore collection.)

The prefatory "note" is dated "Hingham, June, 1817," and contains the following statement:—

"These Catechisms are but in part original with me. I have myself made several very considerable additions to a former edition, and numerous alterations and retrenchments, which have suggested themselves to me as proper or expedient, in the course of several year's use of them in my own family and parish. Some christians will without doubt consider them in many respects deficient, because they do not teach the peculiarities of their faith; but I have anxiously endeavoured to avoid every thing of a sectarian or controversial nature, and confidently trust, that they will be found to contain nothing but what is held in common by the great majority of serious and intelligent christians."

The first three questions are:—

"*Question.* Can you tell me who made you?

Answer. God made me, and all things.

Qu. What did God make you, and all mankind for?

An. He made us to be good and happy.

Qu. What is to be good?

An. To be good is to love and obey my parents, to speak the truth always, to be just and kind to all persons, to do nothing which I am afraid God should see me do, and to do every thing which I think will please him and cause him to love me."

THE MACHIAS CATECHISM.

[1797.]

The author of this catechism, the Rev. Clark Brown, was born at Stonington in 1772, and was ordained at Boston, October 7, 1795, pastor of the church in Machias. On May 1, 1797, he was invited to preach at Brimfield upon probation, and thereupon resigned his charge at Machias, was dismissed by vote of the town, May 10, and by vote of the church, November 2, 1797. He had preached at Brimfield the year before, during the illness of Rev. Nehemiah Williams, and while absent on a vacation from his people in Machias. On November 20, the town and church of Brimfield voted to give him a call, and in June, 1798, he was formally installed. In 1803 he was dismissed by vote of the church, and after preaching in several places, died in Maryland, January 12, 1817. He received honorary degrees from Harvard in 1797 and in 1811, and also from Dartmouth and several other colleges.

While pastor at Machias, it is stated that he "reformed the articles of faith, abrogating the doctrines of the Trinity and total depravity, and admitting persons to the Communion without any evidence of regeneration. About half of the Church refused to unite with it in its new form, and were suspended from Church privileges." According to Mr. Hyde's "Historical Address" at Brimfield,¹ Mr. Brown "was an avowed unbeliever in those Evangelical doctrines which this church has, during all its history, maintained as fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith." After mentioning several of his publications,² he adds: "Reference is made in one of these pamphlets to a catechism published by Mr. Brown, while at Machias, but no copy of it is known to be in existence." The following is evidently the work referred to:—

¹ *Historical Celebration of the Town of Brimfield* (Springfield, 1879), pp. 97-105.

² See Williamson's *Bibliography of Maine*, where titles are given of two of these pamphlets, both printed at New Bedford.

A | Catechism, | in | Three Parts : | designed for the use
of | Children. | Part I.—Containing general In- |
structions in Religious Know- | ledge. | Part II.—Con-
taining explanatory | Directions, respecting the gen- |
eral design & use of the Bible. | Part III.—Containing a
Know- | ledge of the Christian Relig- | ion in particular.
| By Clark Brown, B. D. M. | *Newbedford* :— | *Printed*
by John Spooner. | 1797. | 12^o, 31 pp. (American
Antiquarian Society.)

On the back of the title-page is the following :—

"Advertisement. The Author has no design, to disrespect the Catechism of the Assembly of Divines, by the present Compilation :—But is fully sensible that it is beyond the comprehension of Children—and that it contains some sentiments, with which, many sincere Christians are not pleased, and of consequence unwilling to have their Children taught them.—As many of the People of his Charge, considered the Assemblys' Catechism in this light, the Author was induced to devote a few hours, in making the present Compilation : and at their request & expence it is published, particularly for the use of their Children."

The catechism begins :—

"*Question* 1. For what end were we made?

Answer. To glorify God, and to be happy in his enjoyment forever.

Quest. 2. What is God?

Ans. God is a Spirit ; and though we cannot see him in this life, yet he sees us, and knows all our words, thoughts, and actions ; for he is present in all places.

Quest. 3. What are God's attributes?

Ans. Eternity in his existence ; unchangeableness in his purposes ; and in his communications to us, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness and truth."

THE INDIAN CATECHISMS.¹

[1654-1795.]

At the end of Samuel Danforth's *Almanack* for 1649, printed at Cambridge by Samuel Green, are two pages of "A chronological table of some few memorable occurrences" in New England, in which, after mentioning the earthquakes, the violent tempests, the great droughts, and how "the Lord sent multitudes of Caterpillars amongst us, which marched thorow our fields, like armed men, and spoyled much corn," it is noted, under the date of October, 1646, that "Mr. Eliot began to preach to y^e Indians in their owne language."

John Eliot's short catechism was the first publication in the Indian language of Massachusetts. Compiled by him as early as 1651, it was used in manuscript form for several years, and finally was printed at Cambridge, in 1654, at the expense of the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England. On September 24, 1653, the Commissioners of the United Colonies wrote to England that "Mr Eliot is preparing to print a Cattichisme of the Indian langwige," of which they had authority to give order for the printing of 500 or 1000 copies, and to allow paper and the charge of printing. At the next annual meeting, September 25, 1654, they wrote that "one Cattachesme is alreddy printed." A new impression was called for seven years later, when the Commissioners wrote to Mr. Usher in Boston (Sept. 13, 1661), to take order for the printing of "a thousand coppyes of Mr. Elliotts Catichismes which wee vnderstand are much wanting amongst the Indians." The charge of printing, which was presented in September, 1662, was "To printing 1500 Cattachismes," £15. Not a

¹ In a series of articles contributed to Pilling's *Algonquian Bibliography* (Washington, 1891), I have described these catechisms and primers with more detail. Those who desire further particulars are referred to that work, under the articles Eliot, Indiane Primer, Mayhew, Pierson, Quinney, Rawson and Sergeant.

single copy of either of these editions is known to have been preserved.

The second Indian catechism we will mention was one prepared in manuscript by Thomas Mayhew, the younger, for the use of the Indians on Martha's Vineyard, among whom he began missionary work in 1643. He commenced to preach to them in their own language in 1646, and in 1652 he opened a school for the teaching of Indian children. The catechism is thus referred to in a letter by the author's grandson, Experience Mayhew, written in 1722 :—

"My Grand Father in his time composed a large and Excellent Catechism for the Indians of this Island, agreeable unto their own Dialect; but not being printed the Original is, I think, utterly lost, and there only remains of it, about 40 pages in Octavo, transcribed as I suppose, by some Indian after his Death; but this goes not so far as to have the Lord's Prayer in it."¹

Mr. Mayhew sailed for England in November, 1657, and was lost at sea. The catechism was probably never printed.

The third Indian catechism—the second to be published at the expense of the Corporation—was the one by Rev. Abraham Pierson, minister of the church at Branford, in New Haven Colony. It was prepared for the use of the Quiripi Indians of southwestern Connecticut, and was begun as early as 1654, although not finished until 1657. It was put to the press in 1658, and after some delay, was issued in the fall or winter of 1659, with the following title :—

Some | Helps for the | Indians | Shewing them | How to
improve their natural Rea- | son, To know the True God,
and | the true Christian Religion. | 1. By leading them
to see the Di- | vine authority of the Scriptures. | 2.
By the Scriptures the Divine | Truths necessary to Eter-
nal Salvation. | Undertaken | At the Motion, and pub-

¹ Observations on the Indian language, by Experience Mayhew, A. M., Preacher of the Gospel to the Indians of Martha's Vineyard in New England, in 1722. Now published from the original MS. by John S. H. Fogg. Boston, 1884. 4°, 12 pp.

lished by | the Order of the Commission- | ers of the
United Colonies. | by Abraham Peirson. | Examined,
and approved by Thomas | Stanton Interpreter-General
to the U- | nited Colonies for the Indian Language, |
and by some others of the most able | Interp[r]eters
amo[n]gst us. | *Cambridg*, | *Printed by Samuel Green*
1658. | 8^o, 67 pp. (Lenox collection.)

The catechism is in Indian and English, the latter being
in smaller type, interlined with the Indian. In its com-
pilation it is said that much use was made of Perkins's *Six*
Principles. The first question is: "How prove you that
there is a God?"

Some Helps for the | Indians; | Shewing them how to |
Improve their Natural Reason, | to know the true God,
and the | Christian Religion. | 1 By leading them to see
the Divine | Authority of the Scriptures. | 2. By the
Scriptures, the Divine | truths necessary to Eternal sal-
| vation. | By | Abraham Peirson | Pastor of the Church
at Branford. | Examined and approved by that | Experi-
enced Gentleman (in the In- | dian Language) Captain
| John Scot. | *Cambridge*: | *Printed for Samuel Green*,
1658. | 8^o, 67 pp. (British Museum.)

The above is the same edition as the one preceding, but
with a substituted title, the history of which I have given
in another place.¹

Some | Helps | for the | Indians | shewing them | How to
improve their natural Reason, To know | the True God,
and the true Christian Religion. | 1. By leading them to
see the Divine Authority of the | Scriptures. | 2. By the
Scriptures the Divine Truths necessary to | Eternall Salva-
tion. | Undertaken | At the Motion, and published by the
Order of the Commis- | sioners of the United Colonies.

¹ In an article contributed to Pilling's *Algonquian Bibliography* (1891), pp. 397-400.

| by Abraham Peirson. | Examined and approved by Thomas Stanton Interpreter- | ter-Generall to the United Colonies for the Indian | Language, and by some others of the most able | Interpreters amongst us. | *London*, | *Printed by M. Simmons*, 1659. | 4^o, appended to: "A further Accompt of the Progresse of the Gospel" (*London*, 1659), of which it forms pp. 22-35. (Lenox collection.)

When the Commissioners of the United Colonies wrote to the Corporation in England, in December, 1658, they enclosed the first sheet (16 pp.) of the catechism, then being printed by Samuel Green at Cambridge. This specimen was reprinted in England as above, "for publicke satisfaction."

Some Helps for the Indians: | a Catechism | in the language of the Quiripi Indians | of New Haven Colony, | by the Rev. Abraham Pierson. | Reprinted from the original edition, Cambridge, 1658. | With an introduction, | by J. Hammond Trumbull. | From the Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, vol. III. | *Hartford*: | *Printed by M. H. Mallory & Co.* | 1873. | 8^o, 11, 67 pp., 2 plates. (Lenox collection.)

One hundred copies were made of this reprint. The whole edition of volume 3 of the *Collections*, from which it was separately printed, was entirely destroyed by fire at the bindery in 1875, but it was reprinted by the Society in 1895.

A fourth Indian catechism was Eliot's translation of the Westminster Assembly's *Shorter Catechism*, the undertaking of which was suggested by Richard Baxter, in 1663. At what time it was printed is not known, but it is referred to in 1675, as being in print. No copy has been found.

The fifth Indian catechism in our list is Eliot's Indian Primer. The volume contains a large and a short catechism,

with syllables and brief reading lessons prefixed. The earliest edition known has this title:—

The | Indian Primer ; | or, | The way of training up of
our | Indian Youth in the good | knowledge of God, in
the | knowledge of the Scriptures | and in an ability
to Reade. | Composed by J. E. | . . . | *Cambridge*,
Printed 1669. | 32°, 64 leaves. In the Indian language.
(University of Edinburgh.)

The | Indian Primer ; | or, | The way of training up of our
Indian Youth in | the good knowledge of God. | By John
Eliot. | Reprinted from the original edition of 1669. |
With an introduction by | John Small, M.A., | Libra-
rian, University of Edinburgh. | *Edinburgh: Andrew*
Elliot. | 1877. | 16°, (2), xl pp., 64 leaves. (Lenox
collection.)

The | Indian Primer ; | or, | The way of training up of our
Indian Youth in | the good knowledge of God. 1669.
| By John Eliot, | To which is Prefixed | The Indian
Covenanting Confession. | Reprinted from the Originals
in the Library of | the University of Edinburgh. | With
an introduction | By John Small, M. A., F. S. A. Scot.
| *Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot*. | 1880. | 16°, (2), liv
pp., 64 leaves, folded sheet.

[The Indian Primer.] Prov. 22. 6. | Nehtuhpeh peisses ut
| mayut ne woh ayont kah | kehchisuit matta pish |
wunnukkodtumuoon. | [*Cambridge, printed by Samuel*
Green, 1687?] 16°, 40 leaves. A-E in eights. (Massa-
chusetts Historical Society.)

This seems to be a new impression of Eliot's Indian Primer of 1669, with which it closely agrees. In 1686, August 29, Mr Eliot wrote to Boyle, requesting "that we may again reimpose the primer and catechism ; for though

the last impression be not quite spent, yet quickly they will; and I am old, ready to be gone, and desire to leave as many books as I can." A manuscript note on this copy, in the handwriting of Rev. Thomas Prince, is as follows: "Mr. B. Green says, composed by Mr. Eliot, & Printed at Camb. ab^t 1684."

Eliot's translation of Perkins's *Six Principles of Religion* may be counted as the sixth Indian catechism. The year of its printing, if published at all, is unknown. Increase Mather mentions it in a letter to Dr. Leusden, in 1687; and it is referred to by Mr. Mayhew, in his *Indian Converts*, p. 168. The book is not extant as far as known.

The seventh Indian Catechism was Grindal Rawson's translation of Cotton's *Spiritual Milk for Babies*, which appeared with the following title:—

Nashauanittue Meninnunk | wutch | Mukkiesog, | Wussesèmunun wutch Sogkottunganash | Naneeswe Testamentsash; | wutch | Ukkesitchippooonganoo Ukketeahogkounoo. | Negonée wussukhūmun ut Englishmāne Unnon- | tooaonganit, nashpe ne ānue, wunnegenue | Nohtompeantog. | Noh ascowèsit | John Cotton. | Kah yeuyeu qushkinnūmun en Indiane Unnontoo- | waonganit wutch cōnēhikqunāout Indiane | Mukkiesog, | Nashpe | Grindal Rawson. | Wunnaunchemookāe Nohtompeantog ut kenugke | Indianog. | . . . | *Cambridge*: | *Printeuopp nashpe Samuel Green, kah | Bartholomew Green.* 1691. | 8°, 13 pp. (American Antiquarian Society; Lenox collection.)

Eighth in our list of Indian catechisms may be placed Cotton Mather's little manual for the Iroquois Indians. In the life of the author by his son it is stated that "he learned the French and Spanish Tongues and in his Forty-fifth Year conquered Iroquois Indian; in each of which he published Treatises for their Instruction." The accuracy

of Mather's knowledge of the Indian languages has been questioned. In the *Magnalia* he relates, in describing the case of a bewitched young woman, how he questioned the Demons in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, which they understood, and then he tried them with the Indian languages, which they "did seem not so *well* to understand." In commenting on this passage, Dr. Trumbull dryly remarks that "the devils who found Mather's Indian too hard for them were not without excuse," for, judging from the specimens he printed, "he had not mastered the rudiments of the grammar, and could not construct an Indian sentence idiomatically." The Iroquois catechism has this title:—

Another Tongue brought in, to Confess | the Great Saviour
of the World. | Or, | Some Communications | of |
Christianity, | Put into a Tongue used among the |
Iroquois Indians, | in America. | And, Put into the
Hands of the English | and the Dutch Traders: | To
accommodate the Great Intention of | Communicating
the Christian | Religion, unto the Salvages, | among
whom they may find any thing | of this Language to be
Intelligible. | . . . | *Boston: Printed by B. Green.* |
1707. | 8°, 16 pp. (Lenox collection.)

The preface is addressed "To the English and Dutch Traders, among the Iroquois Indians," and from it the following extracts are made:—

"The Popish Missionaries in their Compassing Sea and Land that they may make Proselytes, have Penetrated So deep West-ward in our North-America, as to Address the Iroquois Indians, with some Instructions of that Christianity, which has been debased and depraved by their commixed Popery. Certainly, The zeal of Protestants, to Propagate our Holy Religion, well Purified from the Popish Mixtures, ought to be more Flaming, more Lively, than any thing that we can see in the Church of Rome, to Enlarge the Empire of Antichrist. The Honour of our Profession, calls for more Zeal in this matter; Without it, our Sin-

cerity in our Profession cannot well be justified. The Greatest Service, that can be done to Mankind, is to introduce Pure Christianity every where. . . . Oh! That a Spirit for the Propagation of Christianity, were more Operative among those, Who say they are Christians! . . .

Brethren, You have here put into your Hands, the First and Main Points of the Christian Religion. That famous Grotius, wrote his Book, of, The Verity of the Christian Religion, on purpose to furnish his Countrymen, with matter of Discourse among the Pagans in the Indies, whither they travelled in their Trading Voyages. Both Matter and Language too, (as the Prophet Jeremiah did with his Chaldee) is here put into the Hands of the Traders with the Indian Pagans. Tis in that very Language, in which the Popish Missionaries among the Iroquois Indians, have composed (tho' not Published) a Catechism, full of Gross Things, which were to be Expected from the Men of their Intentions. There may be a Variety of Dialect in the Language of Iroquois Indians; But it is possible, this little composure may somewhat facilitate your Applications to them, especially to some of them, whither your Prosecution of your Temporal Interests may carry you. You are now earnestly Solicited, That you, who are Traders for Bever-Skins, would be as Instrumental as you can to Convey the Garments of Righteousness and Salvation, among the Naked Salvages; That while you seek to Enrich your selves by Trading with the wretched Salvages, You may try to Administer unto them in Spiritual things, and to communicate the Unsearchable Riches of Christ unto them; That if the Providence of God may cast you in your Travels, among the Indians, where the Language of the Iroquois in this Dialect of it, may be of any use, in your communication, you would with all possible Alacrity, lay hold on all Opportunities, to mention these Illustrious Truths of the Gospel unto them. Who can tell, but the Great God may bring some of His Elect in your way! Oh! How Blessed are you, if you may be the Instruments of bringing any such home unto the Lord! Who can tell, but the Intimations which You may give unto Some or other of the Salvages, may awaken them to Repair unto the English, or the Dutch Christians, who may Expound the way of God more perfectly unto them! Who can tell, but as Frumentius

and AEDesius of old, when they were by accident cast into One of the Kingdoms of the Inner India, Some of you may be, in Gods time for it, the Instruments of drawing a whole Nation to Christianity.

But if we miss of every other Good End in this Essay, yet this End will be gained. The precious Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, is now Mentioned, and Honoured in a Language, wherein there was never before now, any such Publick Expression of it. Oh! when shall the Day arrive, wherein Every Knee shall bow, and every Tongue shall confess unto that Glorious Lord."

The questions and answers are printed in Indian, Latin, English and Dutch.

Our ninth Indian catechism is anonymous; and although it has a similar title to that of Eliot's Indian Primer, it differs considerably from it. There is some probability that Experience Mayhew may have prepared the book, for the use of Indians on Martha's Vineyard. Leaves 30-46 contain Grindal Rawson's translation of Cotton's *Spiritual Milk for Babes*, with changes in the orthography. Two editions of this primer-catechism are known, as follows:—

Indiane | Primer | Asuh | Negonneyeuuk. | Ne nashpe
Mukkiesog | Woh | tauog wunnamuhkuttee | ogketa-
munnatte Indiane | Unnontoowaonk. | Kah | Meninnunk
wutch | Mukkiesog. | *Mushawromuk*: | *Printeuun* |
nashpe B. Green. | 1720. |

[Second title:]

The Indian | Primer | or | The First Book. | By which
Children | may | know truely | to read the Indian |
Language. | And | Milk for | Babes. | *Boston*: |
Printed | by *B. Green.* | 1720. | 12°, 84 leaves. In
Indian and English, alternate pages. (Lenox collection;
American Antiquarian Society, fragment.)

Indiane | Primer | asuh | Negonneyeuuk | Ne nashpe
Mukkiesog | Woh | tauog wunnamuhkuttee | Ogketa-
munrate Indiane | Unnontoowaonk. | Kah | Meninnunk
wutch | Mukkiesog. | *Mushawcomuk:* | *Printeuun*
MDCCXLVII. |

[Second title:]

The Indian | Primer | or | The First Book | By which
Children | May | Know truly | To read the Indian |
Language. | And | Milk for | Babes. | *Boston:* |
Printed MDCCXLVII. | 12^o, 84 leaves. In Indian and
English, alternate pages. (Edward E. Ayer, Chicago;
Lenox collection, incomplete; American Antiquarian
Society, fragment.)

The edition of 1747 was probably printed by S. Kneeland and T. Green.

The tenth Indian catechism forms part of a little manual prepared for the Moheakunnuk or Stockbridge Indians, by Rev. John Sergeant, who was missionary among them from 1735 until his death in 1749. The publication consists of two pamphlets, sewed together, of which the first contains on pp. 8-15, a translation of Dr. Watts's Shorter Catechism for Children. There is no title, but headings only, as below:—

A Morning Prayer [pp. 1-6].—An Evening Prayer [pp. 6, 7].—Catechism [pp. 8-15].—A Prayer before Sermon [pp. 1-8].—A Prayer after Sermon and Baptism [pp. 8-10].—A Prayer to be used at the Sacrament, &c. [pp. 10-14].—A Prayer for the Sick [pp. 15, 16].—For the Afflicted [pp. 16, 17].—Thanks returned for Recovery, &c. [pp. 17, 18].—A Prayer after Sermon [pp. 18-21].—A General Prayer [pp. 22, 23]. [*Boston?* 1740?] 12^o, 15, 23 pp. In the Mohegan or Stockbridge Indian language. (American Antiquarian Society.)

The eleventh Indian catechism in our enumeration is a translation of the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism, etc., made for the Moheakunnuk or Stockbridge Indians. The version is attributed to John Quinney, one of the tribe, who probably was interpreter to the Rev. John Sergeant, during his ministry among the Indians, from 1735 to 1749. There is no record, however, of the printing of an edition at that early date. The work described below was published after the Indians had removed from Stockbridge, Mass., to New Stockbridge, N. Y., and it was probably done under the supervision of Rev. John Sergeant the younger, who at that time was their pastor :—

The | Assembly's | Catechism. | *Printed at Stockbridge,*
Massachusetts, | by Loring Andrews. | 1795. | 8°, 31
pp. In the Mohegan or Stockbridge Indian language.
(Lenox collection.)

The Assembly's Shorter Catechism (pp. 3-27), is followed by Dr. Watts's Shorter Catechism for Children, pp. 27-31. The latter is a revision, with changes in spelling, of the elder Mr. Sergeant's version of about 1740. A later edition is as follows :—

The Assembly's | Shorter Catechism. | [*Stockbridge?*
1818?] 18°, 34 pp. In the Mohegan or Stockbridge
Indian language. (Massachusetts Historical Society.)

The first twenty-five pages contain a reprint of the edition of 1795 ; the remainder of the pamphlet consists of scripture verses and metrical psalms, probably translated by Capt. Hendrik Aupaumut, a chief of the Stockbridge tribe. This edition was also prepared, without doubt, at the instance of Rev. John Sergeant, about the time of the removal of the Stockbridge Indians from New York State to Indiana in 1818, and to Fox River, Wisconsin, in 1822. In 1821, Mr. Sergeant wrote : "I am in hopes to obtain

copies of Elliot's Bible in the Indian language, and am of opinion, that this Bible will be understood by a good part of the natives in the N. W. Territory."

THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY'S SHORTER CATECHISM.

[1647.]

The Assembly's Shorter Catechism, "that Golden Composure," as Cotton Mather calls it, took the place in course of time of nearly every other catechism in New England. It was first printed at London in November, 1647, in quarto and in octavo, and at Edinburgh in the same year in quarto, all for official use and without the Scripture proofs. After a careful consideration by Parliament, and the addition of the proofs, it was finally ordered to be printed for public use, September 15, 1648, and it was forthwith published with this title:—

The Humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines, now by authority of Parliament sitting at Westminster, concerning A Shorter Catechism; presented by them lately to both Houses of Parliament. With the proofs thereof out of the Scriptures. *London*, 1648. 4^o.¹

The editions of 1647 have the same title, omitting the line about the proofs. The edition I have consulted is the following:—

The Humble | Advice | Of the | Assemblie | of | Divines
| Now by Authority of | Parliament | Sitting at | West-
minster, | Concerning | A Shorter Catechisme: | With
the Proofs thereof at large out of the Scriptures. | Pre-
sented by them lately to both Houses of | Parliament. |

¹ See Mitchell's *Catechisms of the Second Reformation* (London, 1886), pp. lxxii, lxxiii, for titles of the earliest editions. The catechism was reprinted at London in 1648, 1650, 1654, 1660, 1680, 1688, and also under the title of *The Grounds and Principles of Religion*.

*London, | Printed by A. Maxey for John Rothwell at
the Fountain in | Gold-Smiths Row in Cheap-side,
1658. | 4^o, 43 pp. (Lenox collection.)*

This copy is bound with "The Humble Advice of the Assembly" concerning the Confession of Faith and concerning the Larger Catechism, both printed in the same year. In the early editions all three parts were usually issued together, in one volume. Prefixed to the Shorter Catechism is this order:—

"Die Lunæ 15. Septemb. 1648.

It is this day Ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, That this Shorter Catechisme be forthwith Printed and Published, wherein Mr. Henry Roborough and Mr. Adoniram Byfield, Scribes of the Assembly of Divines, are required to use all possible care and diligence, that it be from time to time faithfully and exactly done: and, for preventing of all abuse therein; It is further Ordered, That no person whatsoever, do presume to Print, or Reprint the same in any Volume, but onely such as shall be appointed and authorized thereunto by the said Scribes. And that no person or persons, shall presume to sell, barter, or any way to spread or convey any Book or Copies of the said Catechisme, Printed without the appointment aforesaid, upon pain of forfeiture of the whole Impression, if any such be so Printed; and of all such Books or Copies thereof, as shall be offered to sale, bartering, or be any other wayes spread; and all and every person offending in any of the premises, to be liable to such farther punishment, as the contempt of an Ordinance of Parliament shall deserve, provided that this restriction of Printing shall continue for one whole year, and no longer.

JO. BROWN Cleric. Parliamentorum.

H. ELSYNGE Cler. Parl. D. Com."

The well-known questions and answers are preceded by this heading: "To the Right Honorable the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament: The Humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines Sitting at Westminster: Concerning A Shorter Catechisme."

"*Quest.* What is the chief end of Man?

Answ. Man's chief end is to glorifie God, and to enjoy him for ever.

Q. What rule hath God given to direct us how we may glorifie and enjoy him?

A. The Word of God (which is contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament) is the onely rule to direct us how we may glorifie and enjoy him.

Q. What do the Scriptures principally teach?

A. The Scriptures principally teach, what man is to believe concerning God, and what duty God requires of man."

The earliest American edition of which I have found any mention is the following title from the addenda to Haven's list, which would seem to be something more than the ordinary catechism:—

The Assembly's Shorter Catechism, divided into 52 Parts.
Cambridge, 1665. 8^o.

Another edition was probably printed at Cambridge in 1668, for the knowledge of which I am indebted to Dr. Samuel A. Green's *Remarks on the Early History of Printing in New England*, made before the Massachusetts Historical Society, February 11, 1897, and printed in the Society's *Proceedings*, as well as in a separate pamphlet. The General Court had ordered, May 21, 1667, that no books should be printed without license, under penalty of a fine of five pounds and forfeiture of all the impressions. On September 3, 1668, Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson were summoned before the Council in Boston, and were required to give an account of what books they had lately printed, and by what authority. The list submitted by Mr. Green contains seven titles, as given below, all of which were probably issued in 1668. The fourth title is without doubt the Shorter Catechism:—

"The warrants were Read y^t were sent for for Samuell Grene Printer &c. being askt what bookes he had printed for whom & by w^t Authority he Ans'd

- [1] a Drop of Honey he printed for himself—
 2 y^e Rule of y^e new Creature :
 3 y^e way to a blessed Estate in this life.
 4 The Assembly of Divines Chatchise
 5 a narration of y^e plague & fier at London.
 6 Tidings from Roome the grand Trappan
 7 y^t he had licenc for them all from : y^e President & M^r
 Michelle & y^e young mans monito^r :”

Of the numerous later editions of the Shorter Catechism which were printed in New England the following may be noted :—

The Shorter | Catechism | Composed by the | Reverend
 Assembly | of | Divines | With the | Proofs thereof |
 Out of the Scriptures, | In Words at length. | VVhich
 are either some of the formerly | Quoted Places, or
 others gathered from | their other VVritings ; All fitted,
 both | for Brevity and Clearness, to this their | Form of
 Sound Words. | For the benefit of Christians in General,
 and of Youth, | and Children in Vnderstanding, in Par-
 ticular ; that they | may with more Ease acquaint them-
 selves with the Truths | according to the Scriptures, and
 with the Scriptures | themselves. | *Boston in New Eng-
 land, | Printed by Samuel Sewall. 1683. | 8^o, (2), 54
 pp. (Fisher Howe, Jr., Esq., Chestnut Hill, Mass.)*

The Shorter | Catechism | Composed by the | Reverend
 Assembly of | Divines | At Westminster. | With Proofs
 thereof out of the Scriptures | Which are either some of
 the former- | ly quoted places, or others gathered | from
 their other Writings ; all fitted | both for Brevity &
 Clearness, to this | their Form of Sound Words. | For
 the Benefit of Christians in ge- | neral, and of Youth &
 Children in un- | derstanding in particular ; that they |
 may with more ease acquaint them- | selves with the
 Truth according to the | Scriptures, and with the Script-

ures | themselves. | [*Boston:*] *Printed by B. Harris, and J. Allen, | and are to be Sold at the London- | Coffee House.* 1691 | 8°, 31, (3) pp. (Prince collection in the Boston Public Library.)

The Shorter | Catechism, | Composed by the | Reverend Assembly of | Divines | With the Proofs thereof out of the | Scriptures, in Words at length. | Which are either some of the formerly quoted | Places, or others gathered from their other | Writings; All fitted, both for brevity & | Clearness, to this their Form of Sound Words. | For the benefit of Christians in General, and | of Youth, and Children of Understanding, in | Particular; that they may with more Ease | acquaint themselves with the Truth according | to the Scriptures, and with the Scriptures | themselves. | *Boston, in New-England.* | *Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen.* | 1698. | 8°, (2), 46 pp. (Massachusetts Historical Society.) Title from Dr. Samuel A. Green's *Early American Imprints*, p. 110.

The Shorter | Catechism, | Agreed upon by the | Reverend Assembly | of | Divines | at | Westminster | *Boston:* | *Printed for Samuel Gerrish, | in Cornhill.* | 1729. | 12°, 24 pp. (American Antiquarian Society, lacking pp. 21-24.)

The Shorter | Catechism | Composed by the | Reverend Assembly | of | Divines. | With the Proofs thereof out of the | Scriptures, in Words at length. | Which are either some of the formerly | quoted Places, or others gathered from | their other Writings: All fitted, both for | Brevity and Clearness, to this their Form | of Sound Words. | For the Benefit of Christians in general, and of | Youth, and Children in Understanding in | particular; that they may with more Ease | acquaint themselves with the Truth according | to the Scriptures, and

with the Scriptures | themselves. | *Boston: Printed by J. Draper, for the | Booksellers.* 1740. | 8°, (2), 46 pp. (American Antiquarian Society; Livermore collection.)

The Shorter Catechism . . . with Scripture Proofs . . .
New London, 1746. 12°. A copy was in the Brinley collection, No. 5872.

The Assembly's Shorter Catechism: with a brief Explication, by I. Watts. The Sixth Edition. *Boston*, 1748. 12°. (Watkinson Library, Hartford.) A copy was in the Brinley collection, No. 5875.

The Shorter | Catechism, | agreed upon by the | Reverend Assembly | of | Divines | at | Westminster. | *Boston: | Printed and Sold by Thomas Fleet, | at the Heart and Crown in Cornhill.* | 1751. | 8°, 24 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

The Shorter | Catechism | Agreed upon by the | Reverend Assembly | of | Divines | at | Westminster. | *Boston: | Printed and sold by T. and J. Fleet, | at the Heart and Crown*, 1759. | 8°, 24 pp. (New York Historical Society.)

The Shorter Catechism, with the Proofs at length. *Boston*, 1762. 12°, 48 pp. Title from Haven's list. There was a copy in the Brinley collection, No. 5872.

The Shorter | Catechism, | Agreed upon by the | Reverend Assembly | of | Divines | at | Westminster. | *Boston: Printed for the | Booksellers.* 1762. | 12°, 24 pp. (Livermore collection.)

The Shorter | Catechism, | Agreed upon by the | Reverend Assembly | of | Divines | at | Westminster. | *Boston: | Printed and Sold by Thomas and John | Fleet, at*

1897.] *Early New England Catechisms.* 145

the Heart and Crown, | in Cornhill, 1765. | 8°, 23,
(1) pp. (American Antiquarian Society.)

The Shorter Catechism . . . with Scripture Proofs . . .
Boston, 1768. 12°. There was a copy in the Brinley
collection, No. 5872.

The Shorter Catechism, agreed upon by the Reverend
Assembly of Divines at Westminster, with Scripture
Proofs. *New Haven: Meigs & Dana, 1786. 8°*, 30
pp. Title from Stevens's *Historical Collections*, part 1
(London, 1881), No. 105.

The form in which the Shorter Catechism came to be
most widely used, especially in the latter half of the eigh-
teenth century, was in the numerous editions of the New
England Primer, the bibliography of which is fully treated
in Mr. Ford's careful monograph. Every edition examined
by him, from 1727 to 1800, contained the Shorter Cate-
chism, which in some cases was followed by Cotton's Milk
for Babes.

THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY'S LARGER CATECHISM.

[1647.]

The Larger Catechism of the Westminster Assembly
was first printed a little before the Shorter Catechism.
The official edition, without the Scripture proofs, appeared
in October, 1647, in quarto and in octavo, and it was
reprinted at Edinburgh in the same year, in quarto. Par-
liament authorized its publication in September, 1648,
with the addition of the proofs, and it came out with this
title:—

The Humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines, now by
authority of Parliament sitting at Westminster, concern-
ing A larger Catechism; presented by them lately to

both Houses of Parliament. With the proofs thereof out of the Scriptures. *London*, 1648. 4^o.¹

The Larger Catechism was originally issued with the Confession of Faith and the Shorter Catechism, bound in one volume. Some of the early editions have a general title, like the two following:—

The Humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines now by authority of Parliament sitting at Westminster, concerning—I. A Confession of Faith, II. A Larger Catechism, III. A Shorter Catechism, presented by them lately to both Houses of Parliament. *Printed at London, and reprinted at Edinburgh*, MDCXLVIII. 4^o. (British Museum.)

The | Confession | of | Faith, | And the | Larger & Shorter | Catechism, | First agreed upon by the | Assembly of Divines at | Westminster. | And now approved by the | General Assembly of the Kirk of | Scotland, to be a part of Uni- | formity in Religion between | the Kirks of Christ in the | three Kingdoms. | Together with the solemn League and | Covenant of the three Kingdoms. | *First Printed at Edinburgh, and now | re-printed at London for the Com- | pany of Stationers.* 1656. | 12^o, (8), 182, (2) pp. Followed by the *Directory for the Publique Worship of God*, (2), 91 pp. The *Larger Catechism* fills pp. 69–153; the *Shorter Catechism*, pp. 155–182. (Union Theological Seminary.)

The edition I have used is bound with the Confession of Faith and the Shorter Catechism of 1658, and has the following title:—

The Humble | Advice | of the | Assembly | of | Divines, | Now by Authority of Parliament sitting at | Westmins-

¹ See Mitchell's *Catechisms of the Second Reformation*, pp. lxxii, lxxiii. The titles of the editions of 1647 are the same, omitting the line about the proofs.

ter, | Concerning | A Larger Catechisme, | Presented by
 them lately to both Houses of | Parliament, | With the
 Proofs thereof at large out of the Scriptures. | *London,*
 | *Printed by A. Maxey for the Company of Stationers,*
and | J. Rothwel, at the Fountain in Cheapside. |
 [1658.] 4°, (2), 157 pp. Pages 137, 138 are omitted
 in the pagination. (Lenox collection.)

The Catechism begins thus: "The Larger Catechism
 Agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines At Westminster."

Quest. What is the chief and highest end of man?

Answ. Mans Chief and Highest End, is, to glorifie
 God, and fully to enjoy him for ever.

Quest. How doth it appear, that there is a God?

Answ. The very light of Nature in man, and the works
 of God, declare that there is a God, but his Word and
 Spirit only, do sufficiently, and effectually reveal him unto
 men for their salvation.

Q. What is the Word of God?

A. The Holy Scriptures of the old and new Testament
 are the Word of God, the only rule of Faith and Obedi-
 ence."

The Larger Catechism was reprinted in New England as
 follows:—

The | Confession of Faith, | Together with the | Larger
 Catechism; | Composed by the Reverend | Assembly of
 Divines | Then Sitting at Westminster. | Presented to
 Both Houses of Parliament. | With a brief Sum of |
 Christian Doctrine, | Contained in Holy Scripture, And
 | holden forth in the Confession of | Faith and Cate-
 chism. | . . . | *Boston: in N. E. | Re-printed by S.*
Kneeland, for D. Henchman, at his | Shop in Corn-
Hill. 1723. | 8°, (2), 161, (1) pp. The Larger Cate-
 chism fills pp. 57-124. (Lenox collection.)

The Larger Catechism first agreed upon by the Assembly
 of Divines at Westminster . . . *Boston*, 1750. 12°.
 Title from Haven's list.

The | Larger Catechism | First agreed upon by the |
 Assembly of Divines | at | Westminster. | And now
 appointed by the | General Assembly | of the | Church
 of Scotland, | To be a Part of Uniformity in Religion
 between the | Churches of Christ in the Three Kingdoms.
 | *Boston; New-England:* | *Re-printed by Fowle and*
Draper, and to be Sold at their | Office opposite the
Founder's-Arms, Marlborough-Street. | M.DCC.LXII. |
 8°, 41 pp. (American Antiquarian Society.)

MISCELLANEOUS CATECHISMS.

[1668?-1798.]

Besides the catechisms already described, there are others which fall into a general group, including some of New England origin, and some reprinted from English publications.

At the examination of Marmaduke Johnson before the Council in Boston, September 3, 1668,¹ referred to on a preceding page, he was asked what books he had lately printed and by what authority, to which he answered:—

- [1] "he printed the primer: & and
- [2] y^e psalter:
- [3] 2. Meditations on death & eternity
- [4] 3 (: 4 y^e Rise spring &c of y^e Annabaptists
- [5] 5 Isle of Pines:
- [6] he hath y^e Righteous mans: euidenc for heauen.
 by Mr Rog^rs he had licenc for all by m^r. Presidnt
 &. m^r. Chancey but y^e Isle of Pines."

If the Primer mentioned in the first title of this list was not in Indian, and if it was anything like the later New England Primers in character, it is probable that it contained something of a catechism. The following publications are arranged chronologically:—

¹ Dr. Samuel A. Green's *Remarks on the Early History of Printing in New England*, p. 11.

1685.

The Protestant T[utor?] | for | Childr[en.] | The Doner
thereof v[] | Health and Persev[] | the Gospel
in Jesus Christ. | To which is Added Verses made by
Mr. John | Rogers a Martyr in Queen Maries Reign. |
I Kings 18. 21. And Elijah came unto all the | People,
and said, How long halt ye between | two Opinions?
If the Lord be God, follow | him: But if Baal, then fol-
low him. And the | People answered him not a word.
| *Boston in New-England, Printed by Samuel | Green,*
And are to be Sold by John Griffin | in Boston, 16[85.]
| 24°, title (mutilated) and 19 pp., Mr. Rogers's verses
(10) pp. A and B in eights, including 2 blank leaves,
at front and end. (American Antiquarian Society.)

The first three questions and answers are :—

"*Quest.* What Religion do you profess?

Ans. The Christian Religion commonly called the Pro-
testant, in opposition to Popery.

Q. What Miracles is [Reli]gion confirmed by?

A. By Divine Miracles [etc].

Q. What confirmation hath the Popish way?

A. Devilish [etc]."

I am indebted to Mr. Paul L. Ford for information that
the first edition of *The Protestant Tutor*, of which the
above is merely an extract, was printed at London by
Benjamin Harris in 1679. Harris was probably the author.

1688.

An | Exposition | On the | Church-Catechism: | Or the |
Practice | of | Divine Love. | Composed | For the
Diocese of Bath & Wells. | London. | Printed for
Charles Brome, at the West-end of St. Paul's, | and
William Clarke in Winchester 1685. | *Boston in New-*
England, | Reprinted by Richard Pierce Anno Domini
| MDCLXXXVIII. | 4°, (6), 120, (1) pp. (American
Antiquarian Society.)

The *Exposition* is usually bound with :—Articles | Agreed upon by the | Archbishops and Bishops | of both Provinces, and the whole | Clergy | In the Convocation holden at London | In the Year MDLXII. | For the avoiding of Diversities of Opinions, and for the | Stablishing of Consent touching True Religion. | [*Boston:*] *Printed in the year MDCLXXXVIII.* | 4^o, (2), 14 pp. (American Antiquarian Society.) The above title and description is from Mr. Nathaniel Paine's* *Early American Imprints* (Worcester, 1896), pp. 43, 44.

1690.

Addresses | To Old Men, and Young Men, and | Little Children. | In Three | Discourses | I. The Old Mans Honour; or, The Hoary | Head found in the way of Righteousness. | A Discourse Recommending unto | Old Men, A Saving Acquaintance with the | Lord Jesus Christ. | II. The Young Man's Glory; or, A | Wreath of Graces for the Head of Youths. | A Discourse Recommending unto Young | Men, A Blessed Victory over the Devil. | III. The Little Child's Lesson; Or, A Child | Wise unto Salvation. | A Discourse instructing and inviting Little | Children to the Exercises of Early Piety. | To which may be added, A Short Scriptural Cate- | chism accomodated unto their Capacities. | By Cotton Mather. | *Boston: Printed by R. Pierce, for Nicholas But- | tolf, at the Corner Shop, next to Gut- | teridge's Coffee-House.* 1690. | 8^o, (2), 122 pp. (Boston Athenæum; Massachusetts Historical Society.)

The *Scriptural Catechism* referred to in the above title is dated 1691, and has an independent title, pagination and register, as follows :—

1691.

A Scriptural Catechism. | The Heads of the Christian | Religion | Plainly, briefly, and fully delivered in a |

Catechism, | Which endeavours a sufficient Answer to every | Question, barely with a pertinent Sentence of | Sacred Scripture, and Enables the Learner at | once with ease to confirm as well as assert the | great Articles of the Faith once delivered unto | the Saints. | By Cotton Mather. | . . . | *Boston, Printed by R. Pierce, for Nicholas Buttolph, | at the corner Shop, next to Guttridg's Coffee- | House.* 1691. | 8°, (2), 21 pp. (Boston Athenæum ; Massachusetts Historical Society.)

The two titles above are from Dr. Samuel A. Green's *Early American Imprints* (Cambridge, 1895), pp. 77, 86.

1692.

The | Jacobites Catechism, | That is to say, | An Instruction to be learned of every Person | who either desires, or expects to be confirmed by | the late Bishop of Ely | To which is Added, | The | Williamites Catechism, | Or, | Instructions to be learned of all those who | are Well-wishers to the Protestant Religion, and the | English Liberties. | Both Written by Benjamin Bird, Rector of Wotton fits | Pain, near Lyme Regis in the County of Dorset. | Licensed according to Order. | *London, Printed for T. Wesly, and Re-printed at Boston, | for Benjamin Harris, at the London-Coffee-House.* | 1692. | 8°, (2), 14 pp. (American Antiquarian Society.) Title from Paine's *Early American Imprints*, p. 53.

1702.

Cares about the Nurseries. | Two brief | Discourses. | The One, offering | Methods and Motives for | Parents | To Catechise their Children | While yet under the Tuition of | their Parents. | The Other, offering | Some Instructions for | Children, | How they may Do Well, when | they come to Years of Doing for | Themselves. | *Boston, N. E. Printed by T. Green, | for Benjamin Eliot.*

1702. | 8°, (2), 88 pp. ; Sound Words, 28 pp. (Massachusetts Historical Society ; Prince collection in the Boston Public Library.)

By Cotton Mather, but published anonymously. The second part is entitled : "Sound Words, | to be held fast, in Faith and Love. | Or, | The Christian Religion, | Epitomized and Inculcated, | in | Three Essayes." The contents are : The First Essay, Our Saviours Creed, pp. 1-4 ; The Second Essay, The Body of Divinity Versified, pp. 4-14 ; The Third Essay, An Abridgment of the famous Catechism, composed by the most Reverend and Renowned Assembly of Divines at Westminster, pp. 16-28.¹

1702.

Maschil, | Or, | The Faithful Instructor. | Offering, | Memorials of Christianity | In Twenty-Six | Exercises | Upon the | New-English Catechism ; | Wherein | The meanest Capacities have the whole | Body of Divinity, so accommodated | unto their Understandings, that a bare | Yes, or, No, makes their Answers, to | Questions, upon all the Points of it ; but still | directed and confirmed from, The Holy | Scriptures. | With several other Essayes, to Promote | Knowledge and Practice. | A Work, which may be of Great Use, to all | Christians ; and especially to Christian Household-ers. | With an Addition, | (To render the Work yet more Universally Accep- | table and Serviceable,) of the like Operation | upon, The Assemblies Catechism. | *Boston : Printed by B. Green, & J. Allen, for Samuel Phillips, at the Brick-Shop.* 1702. 8°, 192 pp. (Prince collection in the Boston Public Library ; Watkinson Library.)

The author of this anonymous publication was Cotton Mather, who speaks of it in his diary as follows :—

"25 d 8 mo 1701 About this Time, as the effect of not small pains nor few prayers, I sent unto the press, a Work

¹ Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, iii, 78, 83.

which is contrived many wayes to serve the church of y^e Lord Jesus Christ, and promote good knowledge and practice in the world. I took y^e *New English* (my grandfather *Cottons*) *Catechism*, and in *Twenty Six Exercises* upon it (which may be twice gone over in y^e 52 Sabbaths of a year) I gave y^e whole *Body of Divinity*, in so familiar & intelligible *Questions*, that a bare, *Yes* or, *No*, is y^e whole Answer to them all; and yett still asserted with pertinent Scriptures. Hereto I added y^e *Assemblies Catechism*, with y^e like (but a shorter) operation upon it. But I did also fill up the Book, with many other *Essayes*, tho' briefer Ones, with as Exquisite Contrivance as I was able, to advance y^e Interests of y^e Christian Religion, among all sorts of persons. I intended it as a Book of great use, to all Christians, but Especially to *Christian Household*ers. And y^e Lord, in answer to my poor cries unto Him, inspired my Neighbours, with a mighty zeal to forward y^e publication of this work so I gave it unto y^e Booksellers; entituled, *The Faithful Instructor*. Tis Twelve sheets, in print."¹

The book contains an address "To the Reverend, Pastors of the Churches," in two pages; *Maschil*, or, *The Faithful Instructor*, pp. 3-13; *Memorials of Christianity*, upon the *Milk for Babes*, pp. 14-106; *Maschil*, or, *The Faithful Instructor*, pp. 107-132; *The Word of Truth Divided*, in the *Assemblies Catechism*, pp. 133-187; *Appendix*, *The Ten Commandments*, and *The Lord's Prayer*, in verse, pp. 188, 189; *A Paraphrase on the Creed*, and a *Profession of the Faith*, directed by some Eminent Ministers, associated for Church Reformation, pp. 190-192.

1702.

Much in a Little. | Or, | Three brief Essayes, | To sum up the whole | Christian Religion, | For the more Easy, & Pleasant | Instruction of the weakest Capacities. | I. The Creeds, delivered both in | the Old & New Testa-

¹ Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, iii., 80, 81, from which the description of this book is taken.

ments. | II. A Body of Divinity, first Ver- | sified,
and then Inculcated, with | Questions, comprizing the
whole, | whereto nothing but Yes, is to | be answered.

| III. An Abridgment of the As- | semblies Cate-
chism; Epitomi- | zing that Excellent Composure, |
with no more than Thirty Two | Questions. | *Boston*,
Printed for Benjamin Eliot, | 1702. | 12^o, title and
1-28 pp.

The author of this anonymous publication was Cotton Mather. It was bound with some copies of *Cares about the Nurseries*, printed in the same year, as already described, and was also issued separately. The heading of page 1 is as follows: "Sound Words, | to be held fast, in Faith and Love. | Or, | The Christian Religion, | Epitomized and Inculcated, | in | Three Essayes." The contents are: The First Essay, Our Saviours Creed, pp. 1-4; The Second Essay, The Body of Divinity Versified, pp. 4-8; Questions on the same, pp. 8-16; The Third Essay, An Abridgment of the famous Catechism, Composed by the most Reverend and Renowned Assembly of Divines at Westminster, pp. 16-28. The catechism begins:—

"Q. What is the Chief End of Man?

A. The chief End of Man, is to Glorify God, & Enjoy Him forever.

Q. What is God?

A. God, who is but One God, in three Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, is an Infinite Being, & Eternal in Power, Wisdom, Justice, Goodness, and Holiness.

Q. What are the Works of God?

A. God, who in His Eternal purpose hath fore-ordained whatsoever comes to pass, made all things of nothing, & all very Good, in his works of Creation, and Preserves and Governs all in His works of Providence."

1707.

Frontiers Well-Defended. | An | Essay, | To Direct the |
Frontiers | of a | Countrey Exposed unto the Incur- |

sions of a Barbarous Enemy, | How to behave themselves
in their | Uneasy Station? | Containing Admonitions of
Piety, | Propos'd by the Compassion of | some Friends
unto their Welfare, | to be Lodg'd in the Families of |
our Frontier Plantations. | *Boston, in N. E. Printed*
by T. Green. | 1707. | 12^o, 52 pp.; *The Fall of Baby-*
lon, (2), 20 pp. (American Antiquarian Society.)

The publication is anonymous, but the author was Cotton Mather. The appended "Fall of Babylon" is a catechism, with a preface of two pages headed, "The Protestant Armed from the Tower of David." The catechism begins with the following questions and answers:—

"*Quest.* Is the Sacred Scripture a Sufficient Rule both for what we are to Believe, and what we are to Practice, in the matters of Religion?

Ans. The Rule given us, by the Spirit of God Speaking in the Scripture, is a Rule of such sufficiency and perfection, that we are to Believe & Practice nothing in the matters of Salvation, but what is therein Revealed unto us: It is a vile Reproach upon those Holy Oracles, to imagine otherwise. * * *

Q. Is there any Need of any Traditions, to make up the want of any Directions for us in the Sacred Scripture?

A. The Additions of our Traditions to Direct us in the Service of God, beyond the Directions of the Scripture, are Needless, Useless, and Sinful. The Faithful care of our Lord Jesus Christ over His Church, is Reproached in such Traditions."

1708.

The Man of God Furnished. | The | Way of Truth, | Laid
out; with a Threefold | Catechism, | I. The famous
Catechism, Entituled, Milk | for Babes, rendred now a
little more | Easy & Proper for Children of the Smallest
| Capacity. | II. An Abridgment of the Assem- | blies
Catechism; Epitomizing that Ex- | cellent Composure
of One Hundred & Seven, | with no more than Thirty

Two Questions. | III. Supplies from the Tower of
 DVAID. | Or, A Catechism, which arms Christians of
 all | Ages, to refute the Errors, which most | commonly
 assault the cause of Christianity. | To which are Added ;
 Several other In- | struments of Piety ; To Serve the |
 great Interests of Religion, which ly near | to the Hearts
 of all Faithful Ministers | and all Godly Housholders.
 | Offered unto the Publick Service, by several | Minis-
 ters of the Gospel in the | Churches of New-England. |
 III Joh. 4. I have no greater Joy, than to | hear that my
 Children walk in Truth. | *Boston: Printed by B. Green,*
for Samuel | Phillips at the Brick Shop. 1708. | 12^o,
(2), 140, (2) pp. A-F in twelves. (Livermore col-
lection.)

Cotton Mather was the author of this anonymous publica-
 tion, which he mentions in his diary as follows :—

"The Apostasy of some few of o^r people to *popery* in
Canada, awakened my concern, to have o^r people better
 fortified, not onely against y^e *wiles* of *popery*, but also
 against y^e *Snares* of all other Errors, whereby they may
 be endangered. Wherefore, having fitted, both y^e *New*
English Catechism, and the *Assemblies Catechism*, to be
 more easily conquered by o^r children, I accompanied these
 composures, with *Supplies from the Tower of David; or,*
A Catechism, which arms Christians of all Ages to refute
y^e Errors, which most commonly assault y^e Cause of
Christianity, and to preserve the Faith once delivered unto
y^e Saints: In Seven Essayes, (namely, Against popery,
and Quakerism, and Socinianism, and Pelagianism, and
Antinomianism, and Anabaptism, and Anti Sabbatarian-
ism.) Each of y^e Answers, which have in them y^e marrow
& Substance of all y^e volumes written on Controversial
Divinity, concludes with a pertinent Scripture, which alone
may serve to Answer and to Defend y^e Question. And all
y^e Essayes End with Desires relating to y^e Truths which
had been defended; such Desires, as, if y^e Hearts of men
come to be enflamed with them, they will never part wth
y^e Truths, which have made such Impressions upon y^m.
 In this Book, there are Several other *Instruments of Piety*;

The whole is Entitled, The Man of God furnished. My Design is, to have it published with the countenance of *The Ministers of Boston and Salem*; And Addressed unto both *Ministers and Householders* in all parts of y^e Countrey. It is to me, a child of many prayers; and I am waiting to see, how far y^e Lord will prosper it."¹

Prefixed to the volume is "An Address to, (them that should be) The Instructors of the Ignorant," filling pp. 1-17, in which the writer's ideas on catechising are set forth at length. The whole address has been reprinted in Mr. Ford's book on *The New-England Primer*, pp. 263-273. Next comes "An Advertisement; Concerning the Two Shortned Catechisms," pp. 18, 19, as follows:—

"Be assured, Reader, the only Reason, why it has been thought Advisable, a little to Shorten those passages in, *THE MILK FOR BABES*, which refer to the Different Ministry of the Law and of the Gospel, and to the, Constitution of the particular Church-State, is this. We do by long experience find, that those Questions have proved a great Encumbrance to our Babes, in their learning of the Catechism: And the Excellent Author himself had not been so large upon them, if he had not had an Eye, to certain Special Exercises upon the minds of the faithful AT THAT TIME, in the land. The Present Time, it may be, does not call for so Large a Proportion of those Questions, in such a very brief System of the Christian Religion, which our Babes are to be fed withal. And yet that we may pay all possible Deference to that incomparable Catechism, there is care taken, summarily to give under Two Questions, all that was given under Nine before: Not one Jot or Tittle of the Doctrine, or one drop of the Milk, is really taken away.

That Golden Composure, *THE ASSEMBLIES CATECHISM*, (no more than any other Humane composure,) suffers no Disparagement, by being supposed capable of an Abridgment. Examine it, Reader whether what was contained in One Hundred and Seven Qu[est]ions, be now really contracted and contrived into Thirty Two. If it be so, the Littleness of the Task, in getting it by heart, must needs be no Little Encouragement unto weaker Capacities, to

¹ Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, iif, 100.

undertake it. And if our pious Housholders purpose to lodge the rest which our WAY OF TRUTH has here prepared for them, or, at least, the Scriptural part of it, in the Memories of their Children and Servants, they will not wonder at it, that we make the First Burdens that we lay upon them, as easy as ever we can."

The catechism, "Milk for Babes, a Little Shorten'd, and Suited, for the Lowest Capacities," fills pp. 20-30; The most Ancient Creed, etc., pp. 31, 32; A very Short Catechism; To Begin with Negro's, and others like them, of the Dullest and Lowest Capacity, p. 32; An Abridgment, of the Renowned Assemblies Catechism, pp. 33-42; Proposals and Additional, pp. 42-44; The Lords Prayer, according to the Paraphrase in the Assemblies Catechism, pp. 45, 46. Then comes a second title-page:—

Supplies from the Tower of | David. | A | Catechism |
Which Arms | Christians of all Ages, to Refute the |
Errors which most commonly | assault the cause of
Christianity. | And | To Preserve the Faith once de-
livered | unto the Saints. | In Seven Essays. | . . . |
Boston: Printed for S. Phillips. 1708. | 8°, 47-140
pp., appended to "The Man of God Furnished."

The above title is on page 47, on the verso of which is "An Introduction, Directing, How to manage the Armour of Christianity here Provided for the Churches of God," pp. 48-53, from which the following extracts are taken:—

"In these Essay's the Substance & Marrow of what has fill'd many Volumns of Controversal Divinity, is with all possible Brevity Digested, and comprized into a very few Pages: The Questions do not amount unto the Number of those in the Excellent Assemblies Catechism, which yet our Children have comonly [*i. e.*, commonly] mastered. And the People of God have a Little Manual, that will not be a Burdensom and Unwieldy Armour; but, an, Enchiridion militis Christiani, Such as every Christian Souldier may easily carry it.

The Work is contrived in such a manner, that every Answer Ends with a Scripture, which alone would be a full and fair Answer to the Question. The Force of an, IT IS WRITTEN, to defeat the Wiles of Satan, has been admirably Exemplified, when our Saviour took that way to answer the Tempter. And if the Younger Children, at their first going over this Catechism should be Set only to Learn the Scripture, this may be sufficient.

But then, it will be Good, that the Teacher, do both show the Learner where the Force of the Quoted Scripture Lies, and also Read over to him the whole Answer, with such a Paraphrase as to make him sensible of the matter. The very Character, shall by a Difference of the Letter show where the Main Stress of the matter lies.

* * * * *

But by all means, Let the Instructors always Labour to get the Truth into the Understandings as well as into the Memories of the Little Folks, that are under their Instructions. Let them form therefore many Lesser Questions, out of the Answers here Set before them; Such Questions, as will oblige them, with a, Yes, or, No, or a Pertinent Word or two, to discover, whether they Understand the Thing discoursed on.

* * * * *

O Lovers of Souls; Arise and be doing. Set upon this Lovely Exercise. Make the Experiment, whether it prove not incomparably Useful, inexpressibly Pleasant. Go to Work; And God prosper you."

The "Supplies from the Tower of David" consists of seven catechisms, with the following headings: Armour against the Wiles of Popery, Essay I., The Fall of Babylon, pp. 54-71; Armour against the Wiles of Quakerism, Essay II., The True Child of Light, pp. 72-83; Armour against the Wiles of Socinianism, Essay III., Divine Revelation Victorious over carnal Reason, pp. 84-92; Armour against the Wiles of Pelagianism, Essay IV., Free-Grace in Triumph, pp. 93-102; Armour against the Wiles of Antinomianism, Essay V., The Justified Believer, pp. 103-114; Armour against the Mistakes of Anabaptism, Essay VI.,

Infants admitted into the Kingdom, pp. 115-123; and Armour against the Works of the Sabbatarians, Essay VII., The Delightful Sabbath, of the Holy One of the Lord, pp. 124-127. At the end are Proposals, To Parents of the Better Sort, Relating to the Education of Children, pp. 128-140. The last leaf (unpaged) contains The Body of Divinity Versified.

1709.

The Sum of the Matter: Abridgment of the Assemblies Catechism. *Boston*, 1709. 8°.

Anonymous, but by Cotton Mather. The title is mentioned in Thomas Prince's manuscript catalogue, from which source it was copied by Mr. Sibley.¹

1711.

An Explicatory Catechism; or, an Explanation of the Assemblies Shorter Catechism. Wherein all the Answers in the Assemblies Catechism are taken abroad in Under Questions and Answers, . . . By Thomas Vincent, sometime Minister of Maudline Milk Street in London. *Boston*, reprinted by John Allen, 1711. 8°, (8), 326 pp.

The author of this catechism died in 1671. The earliest edition I have seen was printed at London in 1673.² There is another edition, London, 1708; and it was reprinted again at Boston in 1729.

¹ *Harvard Graduates*, iii., 191.

² An | Explicatory Catechism, | or, an | Explanation | of the | Assemblies | Shorter Catechism. | Wherein all the Answers in the Assemblies | Catechism are taken abroad in under-Questions | and Answers, the truths explained, and proved | by Reason and Scripture; several cases of Con- | science resolved; some chief Controversies in | Religion stated, with Arguments against divers | Errors; Useful to be read in private Families af- | ter Examination in the Catechism itself; for | the more and clear and through understanding of | what is therein Learned. | By Thomas Vincent, sometime Minister of Maud- | line Milk street in London. | *London*, Printed for George Calvert, at the Golden | Ball in Duck-lane, Thomas Pack- | hurst, at the Bi- | ble and three Crowns in Cheapside, Samuel | Sprint, at the Bell in Little Britain, and | D. Newman. 1673. | 8°, (4), 355 pp. (Union Theological Seminary.)

1713.

The A, B, C, of Religion. Lessons relating to the Fear of God, Fitted unto the Youngest & Lowest Capacities, and Children suitably instructed in the Maxims of Religion. *Boston: Printed by Timothy Green, 1713. 12°*, (2), 42 pp.

Cotton Mather is the author of this anonymous catechism. At the end are "Instructions for Children, in Verse," pp. 37-42, ending with "The Body of Divinity Versified." Mr. Brinley's copy was bought by Mr. C. Fiske Harris of Providence, but the title does not appear in Stockbridge's *Catalogue of the Harris Collection of American Poetry*, Providence, 1886.

1714.

An Help | to get | Knowledge : | or, | An Essay, familiarly to Explain the | Assemblies Catechism, | to the | Capacity of the Weakest Learners ; | And | To Prove the Truths therein contained, | by plain Scripture. | By Benjamin Wadsworth A. M. | Pastor of a Church of Christ in Boston, N. E. | Psal. 34. 11. Come ye Children, hearken unto me : I will | teach you the Fear of the Lord. | 2 Tim. 3. 15. From a Child thou hast Known the Holy | Scriptures, which are able to make thee Wise unto Salvation ; | through Faith which is in Christ Jesus. | Prov. 22. 6. Train up a Child in the Way he should go. | *Boston in N. E. | Printed by B. Green, for Nicholas Buttolph, | at his Shop in Corn Hill. 1714. | 8°*, ix, (1), 176 pp. (American Antiquarian Society.)

Mr. Wadsworth was minister of the First Church in Boston from 1696 to the time of his election to the presidency of Harvard College in 1725. He died March 16, 1737, aged 67 years. The first few questions and answers of the catechism are :—

"*Quest.* What is the Chief End of Man?

Answ. Man's Chief End is to glorifie God, and to Enjoy Him for Ever.

Q. What's here meant by Man?

A. Man, here signifies, Every Man, or All Mankind.

Q. What's here meant by Mans Chief End?

A. Mans Chief End means, that which he should desire, design, aim at, endeavour after, Chiefly, and above all other things whatsoever."

1721.

The Way of Truth laid out. | A | Catechism | which, as
with | Supplies from the Tower of David, | Arms
Christians of all Ages, to | refute the Errors which most
commonly assault the Cause of Christianity : and To Pre-
serve the Faith once delivered unto the Saints. In
Seven Essays. The Second Edition. *Boston; Re-*
printed by S. Kneeland for D. Henchman at his Shop
in Corn-Hill. 1721. 12^o, 8, 95, (2) pp.

Published anonymously, but by Cotton Mather. The first edition was printed in 1708, as pp. 47-140 of "The Man of God furnished with Supplies from the Tower of David," which see for a description of contents. It begins with "The Fall of Babylon," and ends with "The Body of Divinity Versified," and "An Addition," on pp. 91-95, of "A Short Catechism for the Conscience, on the Condition of Ungospellized Plantations." Mr. Brinley's copy was bought by Mr. C. Fiske Harris of Providence, but the title is not found in Stockbridge's *Catalogue of the Harris Collection of American Poetry*.

1726.

A Compleat | Body of Divinity | in | Two Hundred and
Fifty | Expository Lectures | on the | Assembly's
Shorter Catechism | Wherein | The Doctrines of the
Christian Religion are unfolded, | their Truth confirm'd,
their Excellence display'd, their Usefulness | improv'd ;

contrary Errors & Vices refuted & expos'd, Objections
 | answer'd, Controversies settled, Cases of Conscience
 resolv'd; and a | great Light thereby reflected on the
 present Age. | By the Reverend & Learned | Samuel
 Willard, M. A. | Late Pastor of the South Church in
 Boston, and Vice-President of | Harvard College in
 Cambridge, in New-England. | Prefac'd by the Pastors of
 the same Church. | . . . | *Boston in New-England: |*
Printed by B. Green and S. Kneeland for B. Eliot and
| D. Henchman, and Sold at their Shops. | MDCCXXVI.
 F^o, (2), iv, 3, (3), 914, (1) pp. Portrait. (Ameri-
 can Antiquarian Society; Lenox collection.)

1729.

An | Explicatory Catechism: | or, an | Explanation | of
 the | Assemblies | Shorter Catechism. | Wherein all the
 Answers in the | Assemblies Catechism are taken abroad
 in | Under Questions and Answers, the Truth | explain'd,
 and proved by Reason and Scrip- | ture; several Cases
 of Conscience resolv'd, | some chief Controversies in
 Religion stated, | with Arguments against divers Errors.
 | Useful to be read in private Families, after | Examina-
 tion in the Catechism it self, for | the more clear and
 thorough under- | standing of what is therein Learn'd, |
 By Thomas Vincent, some times | Minister of Maudlin
 Milk-street in London. | *Boston in New-England: |*
Printed for D. Henchman, over against the | Brick-
Meeting House in Cornhill, John | Phillips, at the
Stationers-Arms, and | T. Hancock, at the Bible and
Three Crowns | near the Town-Dock. 1729. | 8^o, (2),
 viii, 315 pp. (Lenox collection.)

1739.

A Shorter Catechism; proper to learn before that of the
 Assembly. *Boston, 1739.* Title from Haven's list.

1745.

A Short | Catechism, | Wherein the | Principles | of the |
 Christian Religion | Are taught in the Words of the
 sacred | Scriptures themselves. | By Benjamin Stinton.
 | Minister of the Gospel in London. | The Fourth
 Edition. | . . . | *London: Printed.* | *Boston: Re-*
printed in the Year 1745. | 8°, 16 pp. (American
 Antiquarian Society.)

The author, Benjamin Stinton, was a Baptist minister in London, who died in 1718. I have not seen the first edition of his catechism, but the second edition was printed at London in 1730,¹ and contains a preface (pp. 3, 4), signed Benj. Stinton, which was omitted in the Boston reprints of 1745 and 1766. There are sixty-four questions and answers, beginning with:—

"*Quest.* 1. How came this World into Being?"

1745.

Catechisms and Prayers. Or some Helps to Religion.
 By Isaac Watts. Ninth edition. *Boston*, 1745. 12°. Title from Haven's list.

First printed at London in 1730.

1745.

A Preservative from the Sins and Follies of Childhood and Youth. By Way of Question and Answer. By Isaac Watts. *Boston*, 1745. 12°. Title from Haven's list.

First printed at London about the year 1734.

¹A Short | Catechism, | Wherein the | Principles | of the | Christian Religion |
 Are Taught in the Words of the | Sacred Scriptures themselves. | . . . | The Second
 Edition. | *London: Printed for Richard Ford, at the Angel | in the Poultry, near*
Stocks-Market. 1730. | [*Price Three Pence.*] | 12°, 23, (1) pp. (American Antiqua-
 rian Society.) In this copy Question 64 and its answer end on page 18, with the
 catchword "The," and pages 19-22 are lacking.

1897.] *Early New England Catechisms.* 165

1747.

Catechisms and Prayers. Or some Helps to Religion.
By Isaac Watts. *London printed, Boston reprinted,*
1747. 12°. Title from Haven's list.

1748.

The First Set of Catechisms and Prayers. By Isaac Watts.
Boston reprinted, 1748. 12°. Title from Haven's list.

1748.

The Second Set of Catechisms and Prayers. By Isaac
Watts. *Boston reprinted, 1748.* 12°. Title from Haven's
list.

[1750?]

A | Scripture-Catechism ; | Or, the | Principles | of the |
Christian Religion, | Laid down in the | Words of the
Bible. | [*Boston?* 1750?] 8°, (2), 32 pp. (Ameri-
can Antiquarian Society.)

The title is printed between an upper and lower line of
harps, blank on verso, and is followed by a preface of two
pages, unsigned. The catechism begins :—

"*Quest.* What are the first principles of religion, both
natural and revealed?"

1753.

The First Set of Catechisms and Prayers ; or, The Religion
of Little Children. By Isaac Watts. The Eleventh
Edition. *Boston, 1753.* 8°, 16 pp. (Massachusetts
Historical Society.)

1755.

A Preservative from the Sins and Follies of Childhood and
Youth. Written by Way of Question and Answer. To
which are added some Religious and Moral Instructions

in Verse. By I. Watts. *Boston reprinted, 1755.* 12°. Title from Haven's list.

1765.

A | Preservative | from the | Sins | and Follies | of
| Childhood and Youth, | Written by Way of Question
& Answer. | To which are added, | Some Religious and
Moral | Instructions, | In verse. | By I. Watts, D.D. |
The Fourth Edition. | *Boston:* | *Printed and Sold by*
Z. Fowle at his Printing- | Office, in Back-Street.
M DCC LXV. | 12°, 48 pp. (American Antiquarian So-
ciety; British Museum.) In some copies the date is
printed MDDCLXV.

1766.

A | Short Catechism: | wherein | The Chief Principles of
| Religion | Are taught in the Words of | The Sacred
Scriptures themselves. | *Boston:* | *Re-printed and Sold*
by T. and J. Fleet, at | the Heart and Crown in Corn-
hill, 1766. | 8°, 16 pp. (American Antiquarian So-
ciety.)

This is an anonymous reprint of Benjamin Stinton's catechism, containing sixty-four questions and answers, for an account of which, see under the year 1745.

1770.

The First Set | of | Catechisms | and | Prayers: | or, the
| Religion | of | Little Children | Under Seven or Eight
Years of Age. | Collected out of the larger Books of
Prayers and | Catechisms for Childhood and Youth. |
By I. Watts, D.D. | The Eighth Edition. | *Boston:*
Printed and Sold by Kneeland and | Adams, in Milk-
Street. 1770. | 8°, 14+ pp., the last leaf wanting.
(American Antiquarian Society.)

The first few questions and answers are:—

"*Question.* Can you tell me Child, who made you?

Answer. The great God, who made Heaven and Earth.

Q. What doth God do for you?

A. He Keeps me from Harm by Night and by Day, and is always doing me Good.

Q. And what must you do for this great God who is so good to you?

A. I must learn to know him first, and then I must do every thing to please him."

1773.

The | First Set of | Catechisms and Prayers : | or, the |
Religion | of | Little Children, | under Seven or Eight
Years of Age. | Collected out of the larger Books of
Prayers and Cate- | chisms for Childhood and Youth. |
By I. Watts, D.D. | The Twelfth Edition. | *Boston :*
| *Printed by John Boyle in Marlborough-Street, |*
MDCCLXXIII. | 12°, 15 pp. (American Antiquarian
Society.)

1782.

Some | Deductions | from the | System | Promulgated in
the | Page of Divine Revelation : | Ranged in the Order
and Form | of a Catechism : | intended as an | Assistant
| to the | Christian Parent or Teacher. | . . . |
Portsmouth, New-Hampshire : | Printed in the Year
M,DCC,LXXXII. | 8°, 32 pp. (American Antiquarian
Society.)

The scholar asks the questions and the teacher answers :—

"*Question.* I wish my Preceptor would inform me to what purpose I came into this world?

Answer. Your heavenly Father, my child, certainly placed you here for his glory and your own good.

Q. Will my revered friend tell me how I am to be assured of this matter?

A. Read, my child, those pages which we have every reason to believe dictated by the divine Author of veracity, and you will there find that God is said to be the parent of

our spirits; in those writings too, he is clothed with that authority which constitutes the very essence of Godhead. From whence we rationally conclude, that his paternal character will lead him to consult the good of his family, while his omnipotence will enable him to pursue every step which his sacred wisdom plans.

Q. But what idea (give me leave to ask) ought I to form of a Being whom I have never seen?

A. The Deity is invisible, incomprehensible; it is impossible, my dear, for a finite being to form an idea of infinite perfection."

1787.

The | Master and Scholar | Attending Catechising: | or |
an attempt to imitate | Timothy's Catechism: | who |
From a Child knew the Holy Scriptures, | that were able
to make him Wise to Sal- | vation, through the Faith
which is in | Christ Jesus. | 2d. Tim. iii. 15. | Being an
attention to two Questions arising from what | the
Scriptures principally Teach, viz. | 1st. What is Man
to believe concern- | ing God? | 2d. What doth God
require of Man? | Introduced by the first four Questions
and Answers | of the Assemblies Catechism. | *Boston:*
| Printed by B. Edes and Son, | No. 42, Cornhill. |
MDCCLXXXVII. | 8^o, 16 pp. (American Antiquarian
Society.)

The Master begins: "What is the chief end of man?"

1788.

The First Catechism of the Principles of Religion: . . .
To which is added, the Second Catechism . . . By
Isaac Watts. *Norwich*, 1788. 8^o. (British Museum.)

1791.

Scripture Truths and Precepts. | A | Short Catechism, |
with | Proofs. | Designed for the Assistance of such Per-
sons as wish | to search the Scriptures for a consistent

View | of the | Doctrines and Duties contained in them.
 | With | An Appendix, | concerning | Baptism. | And
 | A concluding Remark | on the Lord's-Supper. | When
 it shall turn to the Lord, the Vail shall be taken away,
 which is done | away in Christ. Paul to the Corin-
 thians. | *Boston: Printed and sold by Samuel Hall,*
No. 53, Cornhill. | MDCXC1. (Price 9d.) | 8°, 23
pp. (American Antiquarian Society.)

The anonymous introduction states that, "Having been requested, by some worthy friends, to endeavour to put into their hands, something in this way, as an assistant in instructing their children, I have thought, that as the Assembly's shorter Catechism had been made familiar by use, and contained many excellent things, it might comport with the request of my friends, to endeavour a more plain, scriptural answer to some parts of it; and to present it in every answer agreeable to the scriptures of truth, an acquaintance with which, is a principal end we ought to have in view in the instruction of children and youth," etc. The Catechism begins:—

"*Question.* What is the chief end of man?"

1792.

Dr. Watts' Catechisms for Children, with the Westminster Catechism . . . *Exeter*, 1792. 12°. A copy was in the Brinley Collection, No. 5874.

1795.

A Catechism containing the First Principles of our Religious and Social Duties; by Arminius Calvinus. *Boston: Printed by Samuel Hall*, 1795. 12°. (Watkinson Library.)

1795.

The | Baptist Catechism; | or, a | Brief Instruction | in
 | The Principles of | the | Christian Religion, | agreea-

bly to the | Confession of Faith | Put forth by upwards
of an Hundred Congregations in Great- | Britain, July
the 3d, 1689; adopted by the General As- | sociation of
Philadelphia, September the 22d, 1742; | and now
received by Churches of the same De- | nomination in
most of the United States. | To which are added, | The
Proofs from Scriptures. | *Boston: | Printed and sold by*
Manning and Loring, in | Spring-Lane.—1795. | 8°,
24 pp. (American Antiquarian Society.)

1798.

Extracts | from a | Catechism, | in which the | Plainness
and Simplicity of | Doctor Watts | are imitated; | And
from which the | Technical Terms of particular Systems
| are excluded. | *Boston: | Printed and sold by Samuel*
Hall, in Cornhill. | 1798. | 18°, 22 pp. (American
Antiquarian Society.)

The Catechism begins:—

"*Question.* Can you tell me who made you?"

Our record of catechisms, incomplete as it is, closes with the year 1800, thus excluding the publications of the present century. The only exception that has been made is in the case of the Hingham catechisms, which are brought down to 1817. The Worcester Association of Ministers, about the year 1820, put forth a catechism for children, which ran through a number of editions.¹ In 1822, the same Association prepared a larger catechism,² the fifteenth edition of which appeared in 1849.

¹ A Catechism: compiled and recommended by the Worcester Association of Ministers, for the instruction and improvement of children and youth. . . . Fifth edition, with hymns. *Worcester: Published by George A. Trumbull, Manning & Trumbull, Printers, Worcester—1821. 18°, 34 pp.* In three parts, part I. beginning: "Question, Can you tell me, child, who made you?"

² A Catechism, in Three Parts. Part First, containing the elements of religion and morality; designed for children. Part Second, consisting of questions and answers, chiefly historical, on the Old Testament. Part Third, consisting of similar questions and answers on the New Testament, designed for children and young

Several of the catechisms that had been prepared for particular towns were used also in other places. The adoption of the Hartford catechism in Farmington has already been referred to. In Salem, in 1660, it "was voted that Mr. Cotton's catechism should be used in families for teaching children, so that they might be prepared for public catechising in the congregation."¹ The Governor and Council of Massachusetts, on March 10, 1669, advised the clergymen of all towns "to chatechize and instruct all people (especially youth) in the sound principles of the Christian Religion, and that not only in public, but privately from house to house, or at least three, four or more families meeting together as time and strength may permit; taking to your assistance such godly and grave persons as to you may seem expedient."²

The younger John Cotton, son of John Cotton of Boston, was minister of the church at Plymouth from 1669, the date of his ordination, to 1697. In November of the first mentioned year, "began Catechising of the Children by the Pastor (constantly attended by the Ruling Elder) once a Fortnight, the Males at one time and the Females at the other," Perkins's catechism being used at first, and the Assembly's some years afterward.³ In the spring of the year 1694, Mr. Cotton "introduced a new Method of Catechising (in which he used the Assemblies shorter Catechism) attending it on Sabbath Day Noons at the Meeting House, the Males one Sabbath and the Females another successively; and then preach'd on each Head of Divinity, as they lie in order in that Catechism:—this Course was constantly attended for more than 3 Years from Sabbath

persons. Compiled and recommended by the Ministers of the Worcester Association in Massachusetts. Second edition. Boston: Published by Cummings, Hilliard, & Co. No. 134 Washington Street. 1825. 18°, 54 pp. It begins: "Question 1, When you look up to the sky, what do you see?" The prefatory advertisement is dated Worcester, May 15, 1822.

¹ Felt's *Annals of Salem* (1827), p. 207.

² Felt's *Annals of Salem*, p. 236.

³ Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, vol. 1, p. 499.

to Sabbath, till the Pastor's Dismission."¹ In 1675, the Selectmen of Billerica passed "an order that all children and youth from eight years old and upwards, should be sent by their parents and masters to the reverend Mr. Whiting, to receive catechetical instruction at such times as should be appointed."²

The Rev. Dorus Clarke, in his entertaining address on "Saying the Catechism,"³ describes the custom as it existed at Westhampton, under the ministry of the Rev. Enoch Hale, seventy-five years before :—

"The Catechism, as we studied and recited it, was divided into three parts. The first part comprehended all between, 'What is the chief end of man?' and 'the First Commandment.' The second embraced all the 'Commandments,' together with 'What is required?' and 'What is forbidden?' in them all, and 'The reasons annexed for observing them.' The third included all from the question, 'Is any man able perfectly to keep the commandments of God?' to the end. The Catechism was required, by the public sentiment of the town, to be perfectly committed to memory, and recited in the meeting-house by all the children and youth between the ages of eight and fifteen. These public recitations were held on three different Sabbaths in the summer of every year, with perhaps a fortnight intervening between each of them, to allow sufficient time for the children to commit to memory the division assigned.

When the time arrived for commencing the exercise, the excitement was tremendous. As the great battle of Trafalgar was about to begin between the immense armadas of England and France, Lord Nelson displayed at the masthead of his flag-ship, 'The Victory,' the exciting proclamation, streaming in the wind, 'ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN TO DO HIS DUTY!' That proclamation woke all the national enthusiasm of his officers and men, and strung every nerve for the awful conflict. Scarcely less impera-

¹Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, vol. i, p. 501.

²Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, vol. i, p. 364.

³"Saying the Catechism" Seventy-Five Years Ago, and the Historical Results. An Address delivered before the New England Historic Genealogical Society, Dec. 4, 1878. By Dorus Clarke, D.D., Boston. Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1879. 16², 46 pp.

tive and exciting was the annual announcement by Father Hale: '*Sabbath after next, the first division of the Catechism will be recited here.*' It sent a thrill through the town.

There was 'no discharge in that war.' Public sentiment demanded the most implicit obedience by all concerned. The old Primers were looked up, new ones bought, and the parents set their children to the work at once and in earnest. Every question and every answer must be most thoroughly committed to memory, *verbatim et literatim et punctuatim*. The time for recitation was at the close of the afternoon service. All the children in the town, dressed in their 'Sabba-day clothes,' were arranged shoulder to shoulder,—the boys on the one side, and the girls on the other of the broad aisle, beginning at the 'deacon's seat' beneath the pulpit, and extending down that aisle, and round through the side aisles as far as was necessary. The parents—'children of a larger growth'—crowded the pews and galleries, tremblingly anxious that their little ones might acquit themselves well. Many a mother bent over that scene with solemn interest, handkerchief in hand, the tears of joy ready to fall if their children should succeed, and tears of sorrow if they should happen to fail. It was a spectacle worthy of a painter.

Father Hale, standing in the pulpit, put out the questions to the children in order; and each one, when the question came to him, was expected to wheel out of the line, *à la militaire*, into the broad aisle, and face the minister, and make his very best obeisance, and answer the question put to him without the slightest mistake. To be *told*, that is, to be prompted or corrected by the minister, was not a thing to be permitted by any child, who expected thereafter to have any reputation in that town for good scholarship. In this manner the three divisions of the Catechism were successively recited, while many were the 'knees which smote one against another;' and many are the persons who recollect, and will long recollect, the palpitating heart, the tremulous voice, the quivering frame, with which for several years they went through that terrible ordeal. But, if the nervous effects of that exercise were appalling, the moral influence was most salutary; and I desire, in this presence, to acknowledge my deep obligations to my

parents, who long since, as I trust, 'passed into the skies,' for their fidelity in requiring me, much against my will, to commit to memory the Assembly's Catechism, and to 'say' it six or seven years in succession in the old meeting-house in Westhampton, amid tremblings and agitations I can never cease to remember."

In conclusion I will mention a singular penalty, in one of the New England town records, the name of which is not given, entered against a boy who had been convicted of stealing apples. The culprit was permitted to choose his punishment, either to be imprisoned for a certain specified time, or, before the next Saturday night, to learn and repeat to the magistrate the whole of the catechism! The record does not tell which of the two he chose.¹

Besides the acknowledgments made in several places, to gentlemen who have kindly furnished information for these notes, my thanks are due to Mr. Edmund M. Barton, librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, and to his assistant, Miss Mary Robinson, for their courtesy and help. I am also indebted to Rev. Charles A. Briggs, D.D., and to Rev. Charles R. Gillett, librarian of Union Theological Seminary, for similar courtesies and for the use of books.

¹ *Livermore's Origin . . . of the New England Primer*, p. 8.

APPENDIX.

To enumerate the other Catechisms used by the English non-conformists and others in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would require more space than can be spared here. The following are described as specimens:—

1556.

The Cate- | chisme or manner | to teache children the Christian religion, | wherein the Minister demandeth the que- | stion, and the childe maketh answer. | Made by the excellent Doctor and Pastor | in Christes Church, Iohn Caluin. | [Printer's mark with large letter Y.] | Ephe. ii. | The doctrine of the Apostells and Prophetes is | the fondation of Christes Church. | [*Geneva*.:] *By Iohn Crespín.* | M. D. LVI. | [Colophon:] *Imprinted at Geneua by Iohn | Crespín. Anno D. M. D. LVI. | the tenth of february.* | Sm. 8°, 167, (1) pp. (Lenox collection.)

This is appended to, and forms part of:—

The forme of pray- | ers and ministra- | tion of the Sacraments, &c. vsed in the | Englishe Congregation at Geneua: and | approued, by the famous and godly lear- | ned man, Iohn Caluyn. | [Printer's mark with large letter Y and Bible verses.] | [*Imprinted at Geneva by | Iohn Crespín* M. D. LVI. | Sm. 8°, title with contents on verso, preface pp. 3–24; the form of prayers, etc., pp. 33–93, (1); One and fiftie Psalmes of David in Englishe metre, by Thomas Sterneholde and others, title and pp. 1–159, (1); the Catechism as above, title and pp. 3–167, (1). (Lenox collection.)

The first two questions of the catechism are:—

“¶ *The Minister.* VVhat is the principall and chiefe ende of mans life?

¶ *The Childe.* To knowe God.

¶ *The minister.* What moueth the to say so?

¶ *The childe.* Because he hath created vs, and placed vs in this worlde, to set forth his glory in vs. And it is good reason that we employ our whole life to the anauncement of hys glory, seing he is the originall, beginning, & fountayne thereof."

An edition of the above catechism, *Edinbrough, R. Lekpri-
vik*, 1564, is in the British Museum; one with the colophon, *Imprinted at London, by Ihon Kingston. Anno Domini. 1568*, is in the Union Theological Seminary, New York; and another, *Imprinted at London, by Ihon Kyngston, 1580*, is in the Livermore Collection. The later editions of Calvin's catechism are too numerous to mention.

1579.

A briefe Instruction, | collected for the exercise of youth, | and
simple sort of people. | [Colophon: *London,*] 1579. Sm. 8°,
18 leaves (2-19), unpagcd. A₂-C₃ in eights, the title (A₁)
lacking. (Livermore collection.)

The author was Thomas Cobhead, and the book was printed by
Ralph Newbery. The first two questions are:—

"*Demaund.* How wast yⁿ created?

Aunswer. By the hand of God.

Demaund. Wherof wast thou created?

Aunswer. Of the dust of the grounde."

1591.

A Short | and plaine Instruction, for the | help and furtherance
of such | as are carefull to know the | way to euerlasting life.
| VVhereto are added the places of | Scripture, which serue to
prooue the | points of doctrine herein contained: | together
with certaine profitable notes | set downe in the margent, to
make | euery prooffe more plaine con- | cerning that point for
the | which it is alleadged. | By Robert Linaker. | Seeke ye
first the kingdome of heaven, and the righteous- | nes thereof,
and all these things shalbe ministred vn- | to you. Mat. 6,
33. | *At London | Printed by Thomas Orwin, for Thomas |*
Woodcock. 1591. | Sm. 8°, (36) leaves. A—E₄ in eights.
(Livermore collection.)

The address "To the Reader" states that this is an improved edition of a catechism published some time before. The first two questions are:—

"*Question.* Who hath giuen you your life: that is, your bodie and soule?

Answer. That God in whome all creatures liue, mooue, and haue all their being.

Q. To what ende hath God giuen you your life?

A. To seeke his glory."

1591.

So shorte a Cate- | chisme, that whosoe- | uer cannot, or wil not
learne, | are not in any wise to be ad- | mitted to the Lords
supper. | *Imprinted at London | by the Deputie of Christo- |*
pher Barker, printer to | the Queenes most excel- | lent Maiestie.
| 1591. | Sm. 8°, (4) leaves. A in four. (Livermore col-
lection.)

The first two questions are:—

"*Question.* Who made thee?

Answer. God.

Q. What is God?

A. He is Almighty, the maker and gouernour of all things."

1600.

A Treasvrie | of Catechisme, or Chri- | stian Instrvetion. | The
first part, which is concerning the morall | Law or ten Com-
mandements of Almighty | God: with certaine Questions and
| Aunswers preparatory to | the same. | . . . | *London, |*
Printed by Richard Field for Thomas Man. | 1600. | Large
8°, (10), 308, (1) pp. (Union Theological Seminary.)

The dedication and preface are signed by Robert Allen, a Minister of the word of God. The second part was published in 1606, under the title of *The Doctrine of the Gospel*.

[1616?]

A Short Catechisme, contayning the Principles of Religion, verie
profitable for all sorts of People. The twelfth Impression.
London, 1628. 8°. (Library of the Church of Scotland.)

The author was the Rev. John Ball, minister of Whitmore, near Newcastle, in Staffordshire, who died in 1640. According to Mitchell's *Catechisms of the Second Reformation* (p. lxxxiii), an edition of the *Short Catechism*, dated 1616, is in the library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Other editions are as follows:—

The eighteenth Impression. *London, Printed by R. Bishop for Robert Bird, at the signe of the Bible in Saint Laurence-lane.* 1637. 8°, (2), 43 pp. (Union Theological Seminary.)

The Four-and-thirtieth Impression. *London, 1653.* 12°. (British Museum.)

All of these editions are anonymous, and without the expositions. The first two questions and answers are as follows:—

“Q. What ought to be the Chiefe and continuall care of every man in this life?

A. To glorifie God, and save his soule.

Q. Whence must wee take direction to attaine hereunto?

A. Out of the word of God alone.”

The catechism was also published in a larger form, with expositions, and under the following title:—

A Short Treatise, Contayning all the Principall Grounds of Christian Religion. By way of Questions and Answers, very profitable for all men, but especially for Householders. The Seventh Impression. *London, 1629.* 8°. (British Museum.)

Ball's catechism in this form, with the expositions, was republished in the following editions:—

The eighth Impression. *London, Printed by William Stansby and are to be sold by Edward Brewster and Robert Bird, 1631.* 8°, (12), 242 pp. (Livermore collection.)

The tenth Impression. *London, Printed by William Stansby, and are to be sold by Edward Brewster and Robert Bird. 1635.* 8°, (12), 242 pp. (Union Theological Seminary.)

The eleventh Impression. *London, Printed by R. Bishop, for Robert Bird, at the Signe of the Bible in Saint Laurence Lane.* 1637. 8°, (12), 116+ pp. (Rev. Dr. Charles A. Briggs.)

The thirteenth Impression. *London*, 1650. 8°. (British Museum.)

The fourteenth Impression; more corrected then the former. *London: Printed by John Wright at the Kings Head in the Old Bayley*, 1654. 8°, (24), 349 pp. (Livermore collection.)

The fourteenth Impression. *London*, 1670. 8°. (British Museum.)

1632.

A Practicall Catechisme: or, A View of those principall truths according to Godlinesse, which are containd in the Catechisme . . . By D[aniel] R[ogers]. *London, Printed by I. N. for Samuel Man*, 1632. 4°, (16), 268, 135 pp. (Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull.)

Daniel Rogers was the elder brother of Ezekiel Rogers, author of the Rowley Catechism. He was minister at Haversham in Buckinghamshire, and afterwards at Wethersfield, where he died in 1652. His catechism is said to have been much used by the Puritans, and to some extent in New England. Two other editions were published, as follows:—

A | Practicall | Catechisme: | Or, | A view of those principall truths of | the word, which most directly tend to life | and godlinesse, | Divided into three Parts. | The first, shewing the misery of all men by nature, in respect of sinne | and punishment; with the true use of the morrall Law in that behalfe. | The second, manifesting the remedy ordained by God to deliver | them from this misery, together with the meane of receiving it, | viz. Faith, and how it may be attained. | The third, declaring how those who are delivered, ought to order | their whole Conversation; with the meanes to procure it, the lets | resisting, and the priviledges encouraging to it. | Serving for the use of those who first heard them taught, as also for | all others who shall carefully peruse them. | The second Edition, corrected, enlarged, and restored to order. | By D. R. B. in Divin. and Minister of the Gospell. | . . . | Printed at London by I. Cotes, for Iohn Bellamie, at the three golden | Lyons in Cornehill, neere the Royall Exchange. 1633. | 4°, (40), 115, 244, 192 pp. (Union Theological Seminary.)

The Third Edition . . . much enlarged. *London: Printed for John Bellamie & Ralph Smith, 1640. 4°. (British Museum.)*

1652.

The | Racovian Catechisme; | vvherein | You have the substance
| of the Confession of those Churches, | which in the Kingdom
of Poland, and | Great Dukedome of Lithuania, and other |
Provinces appertaining to that Kingdom, | do affirm, That no
other save the Father | of our Lord Jesus Christ, is that one
God of | Israel, and that the man Jesus of Nazareth, who |
was born of the Virgin, and no other be- | sides, or before
him, is the onely | begotten Sonne of | God. | *Printed at
Amsterledam, for Brooer | Janz, 1652. | 8°, (6), 176 pp.*
(Livermore collection.)

Was this Unitarian catechism edited by John Biddle? The first two questions and answers are:—

“*Question.* I would fain learn of you what the Christian Religion is?

Answer. The Christian Religion is the way of attaining eternall life, discovered by God.

Q. But where is it discovered?

A. In the holy Scriptures, especially that of the new Covenant.”

1654.

A | Twofold Catechism: | The One simply called | A Scripture-
Catechism; | The Other, | A brief Scripture-Catechism | for
Children. | . . . | By John Biddle, Master of Arts | of the
University of Oxford. | . . . | *London, Printed by J. Cottrel,
for Ri. Moone, at | the seven stars in Paul's Church-yard, neer
| the great North-door. 1654. | 8°, (32), 141, (8), 34 pp.*
(Livermore collection.)

For writing and publishing this book, the author was imprisoned and the catechism was burned by the common hangman, in December, 1654.

The first part begins:—

“*Question.* What doth the Scripture testifie concerning its own authority?

Answer. All Scripture is given by inspiration of God.”

The second part begins :—

“*Qu.* What saith the Scripture touching its own Authority, Usefulness, and Sufficiency?

A. The holy Scriptures are able to make wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus,” etc.

A Latin version was published under the title below :—

Duæ Catecheses : | Quarum prior simpliciter vocari potest | Catechesis Scripturalis | Posterior, | Brevis Catechesis Scripturalis | pro Parvulis. | In quibus præcipua Christianæ Religionis capita per modum quæstionum proposita, re- | sponsis idoneis, ex ipsissimis Sacrarum Li- | terarum verbis, exclusis consequentiis com- | mentationibusq;, de promptis explicantur. | Primum quidem | A' Johanne Biddello, A. M. Uni- | versitatis Oxoniensis | In eorum gratiam, qui *meri Christiani* malunt audi- | re, quàm hujus vel illius sectæ homines; quando- | quidem omnes Christianorum sectæ, quocunque | nomine à se mutuo distinctæ, vel plus vel minus | à simplicitate & veritate Sacrarum Literarum de- | flexerunt; Anglicè compositæ; | Sed postea, | Quò ab extraneis quoque legi intelligiq; possent, | in Latinam linguam translatae | Per Nathanaelem Stuckey, | Anno Christi M DC LX IV. ætatis verò suæ xv. | [*London?* 1665?] 8°, 214, errata (1) pp. (Union Theological Seminary.)

The second part begins on page 153 with its own title, *Brevis Catechesis Scripturalis pro Parvulis . . . Anno epochæ Christianæ M DC LXV.* On the back of the title of this copy is the following manuscript note: “Nath. Stuckey was partly bred up in Grammar & Logick by Biddle, or at least by his care, & died Sept. 27. an. 1665 aged 16 years, and was buried close to the grave of Biddle, as it appears by an inscription engraven for him on one side (at the bottom) of Biddle’s monument in the Burial Ground in Morefields.”

1657.

The Farmers | Catechize, | Or | A Religious Parly be- | tween the Father | and the Son. | Being a profitable and plea- | sing Discourse running tho- | rough the whole Scripture, | and it is Dedicated to all | those honest Families that | desires Christ may dwell in | their hearts. | Written by William Blake, May

1. 1657. | *London, Printed, and are to be sold | by Mr. Butler
in Lincolns-Inn-fields, | neer the Three-Tun Tavern, by | the
Market-place, 1657. | 8°*, (2), 75 pp. (Livermore collection.)

The catechism begins:—

“*Father.* Come Sirrah, if you will be a good boy, learn your Catechize, and then teach your Brothers and Sisters, I will give you a farthing.

Son. Well, Sir, do you ask and I will answer.

Father. Quest. Who was the first man God made?

Son. Answ. Adam.

Q. What did he make him of?

A. Dust.”

THE EARLY POLITICAL USES OF THE WORD
CONVENTION.

BY J. FRANKLIN JAMESON.

IN THE dialect of American politics the word convention is applied to gatherings of several different sorts. Occasionally, perhaps, it is used of primary assemblages or political mass meetings, though it may be that in such cases there is always present the notion of persons brought together from distant places, so that a selective principle is at work, even if it is only that inherent in the expense of railroad fares. But usually, it is certain, the word now conveys the concept of a body which is in some formal sense representative, an assemblage of delegates. Of such conventions, two types are most familiar. One is the constitutional convention, in which the representatives of the people are gathered for the purpose of framing an organic or fundamental law; allied to this were those Southern conventions which assumed to represent in a peculiar sense the sovereign peoples of their States, and to declare their nullification of federal statutes or their secession from the federal union. The other familiar type is that of those innumerable nominating conventions by which party organizations put forward their candidates for elective office. The instance of the Hartford Convention shows that there have been other species of the genus in modern times, but they have been less frequent than the two just mentioned. Of the two, it is well known that the latter, the nominating convention, seems to occur for the first time in 1788, and is found only in sporadic cases before the war of 1812. The history of the representative constitutional convention in America begins, apparently, with the early days of the

Revolution, when provincial congresses or conventions framed constitutions for the new States. But there were conventions before there was any making of constitutions, and few conventions of those years confined themselves to that function. An earlier American type than the constitutional convention, then, was that of the revolutionary convention, a body representative of the people and exercising powers of government, but of revolutionary origin.¹ There were not a few instances of county conventions, but the most important variety is the revolutionary convention of the colony or State.

It is not necessary to argue elaborately as to the sense in which the word convention was used when applied to these famous gatherings. It is well known that they usually consisted of, or closely resembled, a colonial legislature minus the governor, or minus the governor and council, and not summoned by the governor, and that they were called conventions because, of all words denoting a political assemblage, convention was held to be the fit and technical term by which to designate such bodies as these. Precisely such an understanding of the term appears not only in the case of the conventions of 1774, but in that of the Massachusetts convention of September, 1768. Such also was the convention of Massachusetts which Otis proposed in December, 1765. But the idea that this was distinctly the meaning of the word convention mounts farther back into the colonial times. Substantially this idea appears in the action of the lower house of the assembly of South Carolina in 1719. They declared that the writs whereby they had been elected were illegal, because signed by a council whose composition was illegal, as being different from that provided by the proprietary charter; and they therefore resolved "That we cannot Act as an Assembly, but as a Convention, delegated by the People, until His

¹ The French Convention, called into existence by the law of August 10, 1792, was of this type, and doubtless derived its name from American examples.

Majesty's Pleasure be known."¹ It was the council and not the governor that was defective, but the thought that a defect in one estate and a consequent illegality in the summons of the lower house made the latter a convention, if it must act at all, is apparent. The same thought is evinced by the Massachusetts conventions of May, 1689, and by the Maryland convention of the same year, for though the latter body does not seem to have called itself a convention, there is evidence that it was contemporaneously so called by others.² During the course of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia, the rebel chieftain summoned "all the prime Gent :men in these parts to give him a meeting in his quarters" (August 3, 1676).³ In the declaration which it put forth, this body does not call itself a convention,⁴ but it is so called in the contemporary narratives of Burwell and Mrs. Cotton and in the later accounts by "T. M." and Beverley.⁵

It is obvious that the instances cited from the years 1689 and 1719, and from later years just preceding the Revolution, were based on the precedent of the English Revolution of 1688, in which the leading part, in representing the nation, was taken by a body which was substantially a parliament, but which was not summoned by the king and lacked his presence and concurrence, and which therefore called itself a convention until the day when, having declared William and Mary king and queen, it declared itself a parliament. There seems to be no evidence that Nathaniel Bacon's convention was modelled on that of 1660. Bacon had been a student of Gray's Inn in 1664, and he was related to that Nathaniel Bacon, member of all the parliaments of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, who wrote *An Historical Discovery of the Uni-*

¹ *A Narrative of the Proceedings of the People of South Carolina*, in Carroll's *Historical Collections*, II. 189.

² *Maryland Archives*, VIII., XIII.

³ Mrs. Cotton, in Force's *Tracts*, I., ix. 5.

⁴ Beverley, 75.

⁵ Burwell, p. 16, Mrs. Cotton, p. 5, "T. M.," p. 21, in Force, I.

formity of the Government of England, one of the leading constitutional text-books of the country party. Bacon must therefore have been familiar with English precedents. But, as we have seen, it is not known that he called his meeting a convention, and some of Mrs. Cotton's phrases seem to indicate a mass meeting rather than a body of delegates. Other instances of the use of the word convention in its etymological sense of meeting merely, are those conventions of the Massachusetts ministers which began to be held annually before the close of the seventeenth century,¹ and such conventions of the clergy of Virginia as that of 1719, whose transactions are recorded by Bishop Meade.²

But whence came the before-mentioned use of the term into English practice? The word as a technical term is unknown to the older parliamentary law of England. The convention of 1689 sought in vain for precedents anterior to 1660.³ That before the Civil War the word convention,

¹ Walker, *History of the Congregationalist Churches in the United States*, pp. 201, 202.

² *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, II., 393.

³ Lady Mordaunt, in a letter to her husband, March 30, 1660, *Clarendon State Papers*, III., 712, says that a lawyer tells her that though there is probably no English precedent for the summons of Parliament by other means than through the action of the Crown, he supposes one may be found in the special commissions for the calling of a parliament in Ireland. In the debates of the convention of 1689 Serjeant Maynard, a great authority, declared it useless to attempt to found the legality of that convention on precedents. There are evidences, by the way, that some of its contemporaries conceived of that convention as possessing those extraordinary and sovereign powers which in later times have been attributed in America to constitutional conventions and conventions for secession. Thus, in *A Brief Collection of some Memorandums: or, Things humbly Offered to the Consideration of the Members of the Great Convention and of the succeeding Parliament* (1689), we read (p. 7) that although that body consists of the same lords and the same commons that usually make up a parliament, "yet being the Representatives of the whole Kingdom gathered together in an extraordinary case and manner, and for extraordinary ends, it seemeth to be something greater, and of greater power, than a Parliament. If the whole Nation, thus assembled, shall deliberate about and settle a *New Government* (as if they were to begin the World again) this seemeth to be a Transcendent, Extraordinary and Original power, beyond what they could exert, as a Parliament"; and again (p. 13), "If this *Convention* can do anything, cannot it make Laws truly *Fundamental*, and which shall have the same Firmitude and continuance as the Government it sets up?" The view that such conventions can change the terms of the national political contract is also expressed in *A Discourse concerning the Nature, Power and Proper Effect of the Present Conventions in Both Kingdoms* (1689). I have seen no earlier traces of this thought.

to the English mind, meant simply meeting, even when the word was used of Parliament, may be seen by comparing the phrases in which two authoritative writers of that earlier time express a certain doctrine respecting barren sittings of Parliament. It was recognized as good law that if the representatives of the people came together and separated without the royal assent or refusal being given to any bill, there was technically no session.¹ Thus, when James I. dissolved the "Addled Parliament" of 1614, which had completed no statute, he said, in the commission for dissolving it: "Sed pro eo quod nullus regalis assensus, aut responsio, per nos praestita fuit, nullum Parliamentum, nec aliqua sessio Parliamenti, habuit aut tenuit existentiam."² Now the status of such parliaments came up before the judges in 1623, in a discussion relative to a statute which had been passed by the Parliament of 1593, to be in force till the end of the next *session* of Parliament. The judges declared: "If a Parliament be assembled, and divers Orders made, and a Writ of Error brought, and the Record delivered to the higher house, and divers Bills agreed, but no Bills signed: 'That it is but a Convention, and no Parliament, or Session.'"³ Now when Sir Symonds D'Ewes, the contemporary of these judges, has occasion to take notice of a similar case, a brief sitting of the sixth parliament of Elizabeth, in 1586, he says that, since no bill passed, "it could not be a Session but a meer meeting."⁴ It is evident from these two passages that by convention the judges meant simply meeting.⁵ Nor have I

¹ Hatsell, *Precedents*, I., 133 n.; II., 284.

² *Old Parl. Hist.*, V., 303.

³ Hutton's *Reports* (1656), p. 61. In their subsequent discussions, *id.* p. 62, doubt was cast on this view; but this does not concern the present argument.

⁴ *Journals*, p. 383.

⁵ So likewise in a passage to which Professor Edward Channing has kindly called my attention, on p. 10 of *Proceedings and Debates of the House of Commons in 1620 and 1621* (Oxford, 1766), where allusion is made to "the last Convention of Parliament," "the last Meeting or Convention of Parliament (which was no Parliament, for that divers Members of that House, after the said Convention, were punished and sent to the Tower for freely speaking their consciences there . . .)."

found any instance in which Englishmen, before the outbreak of the Civil War, used the word in a more technical sense.¹

In the second place, though the representatives of the nation in 1689 applied the name convention to themselves, this was not true of the body which in 1660 restored Charles II. That body was elected in accordance with writs issued, by order of the Rump Parliament, in the name of the "Keepers of the Liberties of the Commonwealth of England." It of course lacked the authorization of the king. But the only way in which it recognized the public question thence arising was to pass an act, before the king's return, affirming its legality as unquestionable. From the first page of its journals, that is, for a month before the actual arrival of the king, it uniformly gives to itself the title of a Parliament.² The application of the term convention to it was a matter of popular usage outside its walls. Bishop Burnet³ speaks of it as "the new parliament, or convention, as it afterwards came to be called, because it was not summoned by the king's writ," implying that the less honorable term was not applied contemporaneously. But the fact is otherwise. A pamphlet of the year 1660, entitled *The Valley of Baca*, raises the question "Whether anything done by this convention can be obliging to the nation, seeing they have not the right constitution of a Parliament, according to the fundamental

¹ Our associate, Mr. Charles H. Firth of Oxford, has kindly called to my notice a passage in Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* (Book II., § 92), in which, speaking of the Great Council called by Charles at York in 1640, in order to avoid calling a Parliament, Clarendon says, "A new Convention, not before heard of, that is, so old that it had not been practised in some hundreds of years, was thought of, to call a Great Council of all the Peers of England." For "Convention" I find "Invention" in the original edition of 1702, I., 143, in that of 1717, I., 147, and in the Dublin edition of 1719, I., 84, and really this seems to my mind to make better sense. But the Oxford-Boston reprint of 1827, I., 240, has "Convention," and so has Mr. Macray's edition of 1888, I., 193, and these, I understand, present texts more authoritative than those of the early editions. The word can hardly be thought to have here a more definite meaning than that of "meeting." This portion of the book was, I suppose, written in the spring of 1646.

² *Commons Journals*, 1660, *passim*.

³ *History of My Own Time*, ed. A. A. A. I., 160.

laws of the Kingdom?" A reply to this, entitled *A Scandalous Pamphlet Answered*, speaks of the body as "the parliament, whom he maliciously calleth a convention."¹ Similarly, the author of a tract of the same year called *The Long Parliament is not revived by Thomas Phillips* says, of a portion of Phillips's arguments, "The rest is an answer to Mr. Pryn, and against the authority of this convention, which His Majesty has owned a Parliament."² These phrases, and especially those of the first royalist writer, evidently imply that a convention is understood to be a body lacking something of the complete legal forms necessary to constitute it a Parliament.³ Gumble, General Monk's chaplain, whose life of his patron was published in 1671, calls this legislature of 1660 a "Parliament or Convention,"⁴ though he has called its predecessors of the republican period parliaments. Edmund Ludlow, writing somewhat later, speaks of it as "the ensuing Convention, which by the vote of the Secluded Members was to be called a Parliament," and in another passage as "a Convention, calling themselves a Parliament."⁵

But the same tendency to use the word convention as a semi-technical term denoting a parliament defective or of imperfect legality, may be observed in connection with the parliaments of the preceding seven years, subsequent to the dissolution of the Long Parliament in April, 1653.⁶

¹ *Somers Tracts*, ed. Scott, VII., 399-401.

² *Id.*, 486. This writer also, p. 487, uses convention in the sense of assembly or meeting merely.

³ Apparently this notion underlies the use of the word by the Lord Chief Baron, Sir Orlando Bridgman, presiding at the trial of Major-General Harrison. Harrison had said that what he had done had been done by the authority of the Parliament of England. Bridgman declared it preposterous to give that name to the small portion of the Commons which remained after Pride's Purge; and, speaking for the court, says "none of us do own that convention, whatsoever it be, to be the Parliament of England." *Trial of the Regicides*, ed. 1713, p. 57.

⁴ Gumble, *Life of Monk*, p. 273.

⁵ *Memoirs*, ed. Firth, II., 247, 260.

⁶ It is possible, indeed, that the word bears such a meaning in a passage, to which Mr. Firth has kindly called my attention, in the Declaration of March, 1644, which the Long Parliament put forth against the anti-parliament called by Charles at Oxford. They say that the King is attempting the overthrow and destruction of this Parliament and making way to the setting up of another at Oxford "in stiling

Of such parliaments there were four: that assembly of nominees vulgarly called Barebone's Parliament, July–December, 1653; the first parliament of the Protectorate, September, 1654–January, 1655; Oliver Cromwell's second parliament, September, 1656–June, 1657, January–February, 1658; and that of Richard Cromwell, January–April, 1659. The summons to the members of the first of these bodies studiously avoids giving it a name.¹ Its journal, at the beginning of its proceedings, calls it "this House." But on the third day it resolved, not without opposition and much suggestion of other names,² "That the Title of Parliament shall be given to this Assembly." I do not find that Cromwell, who convened it, ever gave it the name either of parliament or of convention, unless in a speech to the officers, reported in an anonymous letter which has perhaps little authority; he seems to call it either a meeting or an assembly simply.³ Whitelock and Burton call it "the little parliament," its number being exceptionally small; and so does Hobbes in his *Behemoth*.⁴ Edward Phillips, Milton's nephew, in his *Continuation* of Sir Richard Baker's *Chronicle* (1661), alludes to it as "this new Parliament (for so for distinction we must call it)."⁵ Guibon Goddard in 1654 calls it

that Convention by the name of 'The Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Oxford,' being the same title which is therein given to the Parliament." *Old Parl. Hist.*, XIII., 79; Rushworth, V., 576. But in several other passages of the documents relating to this affair the word is evidently used in the sense of "meeting."

¹ *Commons Journals*, VII., 281.

² *Id.*, VII., 282.

³ Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches*, IV., 35, 51, 52, 245. *Cromwellian Diary of Thomas Burton*, I., 383, "a Parliament or Convention." Mr. Gardiner, the second volume of whose *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate* has appeared since this article was written, points out, II., 238, that in the vote upon assuming the title of parliament the tellers of the minority were both members of the Council of State; from this he thinks we may probably infer "that it was the wish of that body, and perhaps even of Cromwell himself, to mark by a less familiar title the exceptional character of the assembly."

⁴ Whitelock's *Memorials*; but when speaking of it contemporaneously he calls it simply "the parliament." Burton, II., 67. Hobbes, *English Works*, ed. 1840, VI., 391.

⁵ P., 638.

a convention, and so does Ludlow.¹ Thurloe, writing on May 5, 1657, to Henry Cromwell in Ireland, names it "the little convention, (as it is called here)."² As in a previous letter he had called it "the little assembly," "the little parliament,"³ this may be thought to indicate that popular speech had begun, while Henry Cromwell had been absent, to assign to this body the name of convention in a peculiar sense, not unconnected with its irregular origin and composition. This thought is strengthened by a passage in Nathaniel Fiennes's *Monarchy Asserted* (1660), in which he gives the text of a speech delivered in April, 1657, in the course of the discussions respecting the offer of the kingship to Cromwell.⁴ After the dissolution of the Long Parliament, he says, "the people might have had new writs sent unto them for the election of their representatives, who might have carried on the publick affairs of the nation by a new parliament; but it seems those times would not bear it, and therefore a convention of select persons were called, unchosen by the people, to whom all power was devolved; . . . [and] that assembly, to give greater authority to their actings, stiled themselves a parliament."

Similar phrases, showing a concurrent popular use of convention in the simple sense of meeting and in the special sense of a defective parliament, may be quoted with respect to the ensuing, or protectoral parliaments, except the first, whose legality seems not to have been disputed save by those who totally denied the validity of the republican government. From the first session of the second protectoral parliament Cromwell excluded a large number of members. It was on this ground that Hazelrig characterized it as a "forced Parliament, because some of us were forced out; an imperfect Parliament, a lame Parliament."⁵ And doubtless it was on this ground that the

¹ Goddard in Burton, I., xxx. Ludlow, ed. Firth, I., 365, 366.

² Thurloe, *State Papers*, VI., 261.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

⁴ *Somers Tracts*, VI., 384.

⁵ February 7, 1659, Burton, III., 101.

author of a tract called *A Narrative of the Late Parliament (so called)*, published in 1657, frequently calls the body "the late convention."¹ Apparently it is in this sense that Edward Phillips says "The last Convention having adjourned on the 26th of June, met again on the 20th of January following,"² for he gives the title of parliament freely to Richard Cromwell's legislature.

Richard's parliament, however, though there were no such exclusions from it, and though in respect to the distribution of seats it reverted to the customs of the ancient constitution, rested, like all his government, on the constitution called the Humble Petition and Advice, which had been framed by the "forced Parliament, imperfect Parliament, lame Parliament," of Oliver. There were those among the republicans, therefore, who denied all legality to that constitution,³ and some of these are found denying the title of parliament to the legislature summoned by Richard. Such was Ludlow, who calls it "Richard's Convention," and such was Mrs. Hutchinson, who calls it "a convention . . . with a seeming face of authority of parliament."⁴ Similarly, the royalist author of *England's Confusion*, speaks of it, with a touch of irony, as "a general convention, or parliament, wisely chosen by influences from court."⁵ The royalist view of this parliament is hinted at in a passage in *The Tryal of the Regicides*,⁶ in which one of them, Thomas Scott, arguing that what he had said in Richard's parliament was privileged, says: "I have heard the Rule [*i. e.*, the ruling of the court] but do not so well understand it, of that spoken in Richard's Parliament; it will be a nice Thing for me to distinguish between that and another Par-

¹ *Harteian Miscellany*, III., 466, *c. g.*

² *Continuation of Baker*, (ed. 1661), p. 649.

³ Slingsby Bethel, *True and Impartial Narrative of the most material Debates and Passages in the late Parliament (1659)*, in *Somers Tracts*, VI., 480.

⁴ *Life of Col. Hutchinson* (ed. 1806), p. 344.

⁵ *Somers Tracts*, VI., 515.

⁶ Ed. 1713, p. 104.

liament; but this I think, that Convention of the People ought to have the Privilege of the Parliament as well as any other." In other words, if not completely a parliament, it was a quasi-parliament, a convention. It is worth while to add that, during these same years, Vane in *The Healing Question* (1656), gave the name of convention to that representative body, or quasi-parliament, by which he would have had the constitution of republican England framed; and Hobbes, in his *Government and Society*, uses the phrase "convention of estates" to designate a supposed quasi-parliament.¹

In sum, then, it appears that, on the one hand, before the Civil War in 1642, the word convention bears no special or technical sense in the political speech of Englishmen; and that, on the other hand, from the time of the dissolution of the Long Parliament in 1653, we find very definite traces of the idea that a convention is a parliament with certain defects, or marked by certain irregularities. Whence had this idea, which, as we have seen, was also the original idea of the word as politically used in America, been derived or imported? I venture to suggest that it was from Scotland. In the constitution of that kingdom the Convention of Estates had a recognized place as a legal institution, and the phrase had a definite meaning. A convention of estates was a less formal parliament, not requiring the warrant or concurrence of the Crown. Its powers also, though not defined with perfect exactness, were less extensive than those of the parliament; it could levy troops and raise money, but it could not make or repeal laws.² Such an institution seems not to appear in the mediæval history of the kingdom. The first trace of the word convention which I find in the *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, is under date of June 27, 1545, at Stirling: "Fforsamekle as it is thought expedient be the

¹ *English Works*, ed. 1840, II., 87.

² Laing, *History of Scotland*, I., 40. Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, V., 463, 466.

quenis grace my lord gouvernor and lordes of counsell convenit in this present conventioun," *etc.*¹ In this body, and in another assembled in 1561,² there was no representation of the third estate. But a convention embracing all three estates was assembled in 1566. Needing that year to raise twelve thousand pounds for the festivities connected with the baptism of their infant son James, the king and queen (Darnley and Mary) gathered together "a gude nowmer of the prelattis nobilitie and commissionaris of burrois convenit this day to that effect."³ The first examples of a convention not summoned by a king seem to have been that which in 1571, the regent Lennox having been mortally wounded, came together at Stirling and chose Mar to be regent in his place, and that which, in the next year, on a similar occasion, elected the regent Morton.⁴ Eleven conventions are recorded within the next twenty years; the records of the last thirty-three years of James VI. show eighteen conventions to eleven parliaments. It is plain, then, that the convention of estates, though not one of the most ancient institutions of the Scottish monarchy, was now at least well established and definitely recognized. The degree of its independence of the king was less certain. As to his presence, Johnston of Warriston says, in a letter to Hepburn of Humble, April 20, 1641,⁵ relating to the recent convention of 1640: "Montrose did dispute against Argyle, Rothes, Balmerino, and myself; because some urged that, as long as we had a King, we could not sit without him; and it was answered, that to do the less was more lawful than to do the greater" (*i. e.*, to depose him). As to the summoning of the convention without having therefor the warrant of the Crown, we may note what Robert Baillie says of the discussions

¹ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, II., 595.

² *Id.*, II., 606.

³ *Id.*, II., 608.

⁴ *Id.*, III., 65-70, 77-81.

⁵ Napier, *Montrose*, I., 236.

that went on in the bodies which, in opposition to King Charles, were ruling Scotland on May 9, 1643:¹ "The next question was more hotlie handled, of their power to call the Estates. This Argyle and Warriston made clear by law and sundrie palpable practiques, even since King James's going to England, where the Estates have been called before the King was acquainted. . . . So to-morrow . . . verie unanimously they concluded a Convention of Estates at Edinburgh, June 22d." Another passage in Baillie's letters indicates the views entertained as to the powers of a convention. When the body came together on the date appointed, the Duke of Hamilton presented a letter from King Charles intended to restrict their actions, and especially to restrain them from military preparations. "Bot that," says Baillie,² "drew on the question of the House's constitution, whether absolutely or with limitation: when absolutelie had carried it, Hamilton came no more to the house."

Such was in 1643 the Scottish Convention of Estates. The points of resemblance between it and the English bodies we have been inspecting are manifest. As to the transference or borrowing of the term convention, it might readily happen that down to the outbreak of the Civil War the knowledge of such an institution as existing in North Britain was not common among Englishmen, nor had there been in England irregular parliaments for which the name might naturally be borrowed. But it was this very convention of 1643 which allied itself with England in the Solemn League and Covenant for the prosecution of the war against the king, and which cemented that union by joining in the institution of the Committee of Both Kingdoms. Those events must have made the essential features of the constitution of Scottish conventions widely familiar to English politicians of the Parliamentary party. If the

¹ *Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie* II., 68.

² *Id.*, II., 77.

term convention, in the sense under which it has chiefly been discussed in this paper, came into the political vocabulary of Englishmen about this time, it is therefore not unlikely that it came from the northern kingdom.

It may be well to add that, immediately after the Restoration, the Scottish parliament of 1661 passed acts declaring that the power to call parliaments and conventions resided solely in the king, rescinding all acts made in a manner inconsistent with this prerogative, and declaring the convention of 1643 to have been unlawful.¹ Conventions thus restricted were held in 1665, 1667 and 1678. The last Scottish convention was that of 1689, which accomplished for Scotland the same revolution that was carried out by the English convention of 1689, and which is perhaps most familiarly kept in mind by the opening lines of the spirited song which Scott wrote to the air of "The Bonnets of Bonnie Dundee":

"To the Lords of Convention 'twas Claver'se who spoke."

¹ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, VII., 10, 16.

EDWARD LILLIE PIERCE.

BY GEORGE F. HOAR.

It is hoped that a full and extended biography of our associate, prepared with a thoroughness and ability such as are found in his own masterpiece of biographical literature, may be given to the world. Such a work will be a chronicle of important service, of noble friendships, of lofty public spirit, and of profound and varied learning. We can find room in our proceedings for little more than a brief and dry catalogue of facts and dates.

Edward Lillie Pierce was born in Stoughton, Massachusetts, May 29, 1829. He was the son of Colonel Jesse Pierce and Elizabeth S. Lillie. By the father's side he came of a race which has contributed many famous names to New England history, including Franklin Pierce, President of the United States, Benjamin Pierce, the great mathematical genius of America, and his son, and John A. Andrew. By his mother's side he was the grandson of Major John Lillie, an officer on the staff of General Knox. He took a just pride in his honorable ancestry, and, in his later years, devoted a good deal of time to investigating his family history. He was prepared for college at Bridgewater Academy and at a classical school in Easton. He was graduated at Brown University at the age of twenty-one in the year 1850, from the Harvard Law School in 1852, and received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Brown University in 1882. He received many college honors, having won during his college course nine first prizes for excellence in various studies. In the year

1848, while still in college and but nineteen years of age, he wrote articles upon the Independence of the Judiciary and the Executive Veto, which were published in the Democratic Review, and attracted wide attention. One of his prose essays at college was upon Sir Thomas More as a statesman and a scholar. He won a prize at the Cambridge Law School for an essay of which the topic was the Consideration of a Contract, which was printed in the American Law Register. In 1853 he published a careful article upon Secret Suffrage, which attracted great attention in this country and was republished in Europe. In 1857 he published a treatise on American Railroad Law which soon became a standard authority and has passed through several editions. In the transactions of the Norfolk Agricultural Society for 1851 is published an essay of his to which the society awarded a special prize. The article on Secret Suffrage was highly complimented by John Bright, referred to in Parliament, and reprinted and circulated in England as one of the tracts of the Ballot Society.

After graduating at the Law School Mr. Pierce became a student in the office of Salmon P. Chase in Cincinnati, and afterward accompanied him to Washington as his confidential secretary. In 1857 he earnestly opposed the Know Nothing crusade against foreigners and Catholics, and wrote an able letter on that subject, containing much statistical information, which was circulated as a pamphlet by the Republican State Committee.

He was a delegate to the Republican National Convention which nominated Lincoln in 1860, and to that which nominated Hayes in 1876. He enlisted as a private on the breaking out of the War in Company L of the 3rd Massachusetts Regiment, and took part in the destruction of the Norfolk Navy Yard. In 1862 he was put by Secretary Chase in charge of the freedmen and plantations of the Sea Islands of South Carolina. He made some very interesting and important official reports, which had large influ-

ence on our national policy in dealing with the freedmen. In August, 1863, he was appointed Collector of Revenue for the Third Massachusetts District, an office which he held for three years. On June 26, 1866, he was appointed District-Attorney by Gov. Bullock to fill a vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Benjamin W. Harris. He was elected by the people to the same office in 1866, and re-elected in 1868. On November 3, 1869, he was elected Secretary of the Board of State Charities, in which office he served with distinguished ability until April 1, 1874. He was nominated by Gov. Claflin as a Justice of the Superior Court September 29, 1871, but failed of confirmation by the Council. This action of the Council was never attributed to any doubt of Mr. Pierce's ability and absolute integrity, but was held to have been due to animosity occasioned by some emphatic expression by him of his indignation at the official conduct of one of the Judges. In 1875, 1876 and 1897 he represented the town of Milton in the Massachusetts Legislature. He rendered a great public service by procuring the passage of an act drawn by him "To Limit Municipal Indebtedness." In 1876 he was Chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary. In December, 1878, on the recommendation of the Massachusetts Senators, he was appointed by President Hayes Assistant Treasurer of the United States, but declined the appointment. He was for many years lecturer in the Boston Law School. He promoted the foundation of the Public Library of Milton, of which he was for many years trustee. He wrote a report on the subject of public libraries, which was incorporated largely in the publication of the American Social Science Association.

The following list of his publications is probably incomplete :

Remarks on the "Personal Liberty Laws," before a committee of the Legislature, February 1, 1861 ; Report to Gov. Andrew on the condition of "Massachusetts Soldiers," at

Fortress Monroe (*Boston Daily Advertiser*, June 1, 1861); Articles in the *Atlantic Monthly*, on "The Contrabands at Fortress Monroe," November, 1861, and "The Freedmen at Port Royal," September, 1863; Official Reports on "The Freedmen at Port Royal," February 3 and June 2, 1862 (printed in the *Rebellion Record*); Address on "The Two Systems of Government Proposed for the Rebel States," at the Town House in Milton, October 31, 1868; Speech on Municipal Indebtedness, in the Massachusetts House of Representatives, April 9, 1875 (printed in the *Boston Journal*, April 27, 1875); Address at Milton, Memorial Day, May 30, 1870; Speech at Faneuil Hall, June 27, 1876, on the nomination of Mr. Hayes as President; Lecture on "The Private Life and Literary Friendships of Charles Sumner," before the Long Island Historical Society, Brooklyn, New York, December 18, 1877; Article entitled "A Senator's (Charles Sumner's) Fidelity Vindicated," *North American Review*, July-August, 1878; Address before the Suffolk Bar, on George S. Hillard, January, 1879; Address at the dedication of the Town House, at Milton, February 17, 1879; Address before the Alumni of Brown University, on "The Public and Social Duties of the College Graduate," June 15, 1880. Essays on "The Independence of the Judiciary" and on "The Executive Veto," *Democratic Review*, 1848; Essay on "Sir Thomas More as a Statesman and a Scholar"; Essay on "The Consideration of a Contract," printed in the *American Law Register*; Essay on "Secret Suffrage," 1853; Treatise on "American Railroad Law," 1857; Essay published in The Transactions of the Norfolk Agricultural Society for 1851; "Diary of John Rowe," 1895; "Major John Lillie and the Lillie Family of Boston," 1896; "Enfranchisement and Citizenship," 1895, being a collection of addresses and papers on various subjects.

He took constant and most efficient interest in the affairs of his town. He was moderator of the Milton town meet-

ing from 1888 to 1897 inclusive, except when abroad in 1894. He was nominated for Congress by the Republicans of his District in 1890, but was unsuccessful. He was the choice of a large number of the Republicans of his District for that office in 1888, but generously gave way to Mr. Beard, who was nominated, but defeated at the election.

He visited Europe in 1869, 1873, 1879, 1881, 1882, 1884, 1887, 1891, 1893 and 1897, visiting Russia, Constantinople, England, France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Spain and Egypt. He was a frequent guest of John Bright at Rochdale, and of the Earl of Carlisle at Naworth Castle and Castle Howard. He met Gladstone at Sir William Harcourt's. He received distinguished attention from many eminent Englishmen, and was an honorary member of the Athenæum Club. In 1882 he gave a library of 800 volumes to St. Helena Island, South Carolina, where he had been stationed and had done excellent work among the negroes during the War.

Mr. Pierce was placed in charge of the colony of contrabands at Port Royal by Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury. He left New York for Port Royal, January 13, 1862. His mission was originally intended as one simply of investigation. But he was soon appointed special agent in control. He made another visit in 1863.

In his official reports, dated February 3, and June 2, 1862, and in an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* for September, 1863, he describes at length his observations. He was also appointed Supervising Agent of the Treasury Department for the Department of the South with a view to assisting in the reorganization of Florida on the basis of equal suffrage for the colored people. He visited South Carolina, Georgia and Florida. July 18, 1863, he was the guest on Morris Island of Brigadier-General George C. Strong, who commanded the assault on Fort Wagner. He took supper in the General's tent that evening with a large number of officers, among them Colonel Shaw. He

witnessed the attack and gave a graphic account of the whole affair in a letter to Governor Andrew, dated Beaufort, July 22, 1863.

He was the author of the resolutions of the Republican State Conventions of 1869 and 1872, and was chairman of the committee on resolutions at different times. He spoke in the Republican National Convention of 1876 at Cincinnati against a proposition to deny to Chinese immigrants the equality recognized by the Declaration of Independence.

He married April 19, 1865, Elizabeth H. Kingsbury, daughter of John Kingsbury of Providence, Rhode Island. She died March 30, 1880. Their children are: Edward Lillie, born March 28, 1866; Mary Mackie, born November 14, 1869; George Burgess, born January 21, 1872; Charles Sumner, born September 5, 1874; Arthur Johnson, born July 15, 1876; Reginald Kingsbury, born July 20, 1878.

The following notice of Mrs. Pierce from the Providence Journal of April 5, 1880, is taken from the Pierce Genealogy, by Frederick C. Pierce, Worcester, 1880, from which many of the foregoing details have been taken:

"The brief announcement in the papers of the death of Mrs. Edward L. Pierce of Milton, Mass., gives small hint to the community in general of the heavy loss sustained by her family and the friends to whom she was endeared. Born in Providence, and living here through her school days, and the associations of youth, she formed deep attachments which can never be forgotten. Tender memories will be awakened in many hearts among those who, though separated from her for long years, can bring back without effort the picture of those blended qualities which made her youth so charming and full of promise. Her father's school was the centre of all that was bright and earnest in youthful studies, and gained no common impulse from the filial sympathy and ardor with which she entered into all its interests. Not in school only, but in the church and in social life, she endeared herself to all about her, and exerted a gentle but strong influence.

"Her marriage took place fifteen years ago, and she removed at once to her husband's home in Milton, Mass. That unique and beautiful town, lying on the edge of a great city, but possessing its own independent life, its interesting historical associations, and its rare natural beauty, secured at once her warm attachment, and remained her loved home to the last. Coming as a bride in all her early beauty, she could not help but win the kindly sympathy of all. As her children grew up about her, she developed more and more those remarkable qualities which came to her by inheritance, and which were founded in true Christian principle."

March 8, 1882, Mr. Pierce was married to his second wife, Maria Louisa Woodhead, daughter of Edward Booth Woodhead and Elizabeth Woodhead of Huddersfield, England. Their children are: Grace Elizabeth Pierce, born November 20, 1883; Harold Whilworth Pierce, born March 31, 1885.

If Mr. Pierce had not achieved his great work which will carry his name down in history,—the "Memoir of Charles Sumner"—his life would still have been notable as that of one of the most useful, influential and eminent men of his time. He would have been remembered by many intimate friends, both at home and abroad, themselves among the most interesting persons of the century. He exercised a great influence on the political history of the Commonwealth and country. He dealt courageously and powerfully with great questions. He was one of the most important figures in the great movement which abolished slavery, subdued rebellion and secured, so far as they have been secured, freedom and political equality to the negro. He was a law writer of learning and accuracy, among the first to deal with a great department of jurisprudence in which he is recognized by his profession as a master. His measure for limiting municipal indebtedness is one of the most important and valuable contributions to the legislation of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Every

man engaged in a death struggle for righteousness knew that he could count on Edward Pierce as a brave, steadfast, unflinching and constant ally. He was wise in counsel and efficient in action. He was the embodiment of the best intellectual and moral traits of Massachusetts. The story of his life, of his friendships, of his controversies, of his contributions to literature, to jurisprudence, to statesmanship, with his extensive correspondence, ought to be, and doubtless will be, preserved for the instruction and gratification of posterity. His great characteristic was thoroughness. He was always careful before stating the most unimportant fact to establish it by complete investigation. He went down to the roots in everything he did or said.

But his great place in history and literature will be held in his capacity of biographer of Charles Sumner. The political movement which resulted in the abolition of slavery in the United States, and through the force of the example of this country, in the West Indies and in Brazil, was inaugurated by a meeting held in Worcester on the 28th June, 1848. The people of the Northern States, except those portions which had been settled from the South, had for a long time disliked and abhorred slavery. This feeling had been without organization and without leadership, excepting a very small number of persons known as "Garrison Abolitionists," who declined to hold public office, to vote, or in any way to support the Constitution of the United States, because of its provisions recognizing the lawfulness of slavery. There was another party known as the Liberty Party who sought to advance their end by political methods, but who were willing to support men belonging to other political organizations if they were willing to trust them to do what they could to resist the further spread of slavery in the country. But the party organized for the first time at Worcester adopted as its fundamental principle resistance to the extension of slavery

into the great regions between the Mississippi River and the Pacific, and refused its support to any person belonging to either the Whig or the Democratic party, whatever might be his individual opinions and purposes in respect to that matter. This party, a few years after, took the name of Republican, but did not lose its identity, which has been preserved to the present day. Charles Sumner was its leader in Massachusetts, and probably down nearly to his death its most powerful and influential leader in the country, with the exception of Abraham Lincoln alone. His biography by Mr. Pierce, in four volumes, is the history of the Republican party, and the history of the abolition of slavery in the United States.

Mr. Pierce was singularly well equipped for his work. He was eighteen years old when the party was founded. He had then an intellect remarkably mature for a person of his age. He watched public events, even at that time, with a most intelligent and zealous interest. Soon after, he became acquainted with Sumner, and was his closest and most confidential friend until his death. Sumner made him one of his literary executors, together with Henry W. Longfellow and Francis V. Balch. Mr. Pierce, as has been said, quite early in life became the confidential secretary of Salmon P. Chase. He became also very intimate with Henry Wilson, John A. Andrew, William Claflin and others who were prominent in the same cause. He was himself prominent in the councils of the Republican party, member of the Legislature, frequently member of the State conventions, and a member of two important national conventions, in one of which he had much to do with shaping the platform. He was a man of an intelligent and alert habit of observation, which no trifle escaped. He had a tenacious memory, from which nothing seemed to be lost. He took all matters of politics, history and literature with great seriousness, so that few things which came under his observation pertaining to either ever seemed to

him to be trifling. He had a remarkably sound and dispassionate judgment. He had an unwearying industry. He sifted matters to the bottom and sought his evidence in the original sources. In spite of his zealous and earnest convictions he had a singular fairness and impartiality of historic judgment. His narrative is without bitterness or heat. The men who had earnest controversies with Sumner during his lifetime (and there were a good many of them), and their representatives, with scarcely an exception, bear testimony to the singular fairness and truthfulness of Mr. Pierce's narrative of these controversies, — a narrative which Mr. Pierce makes complete, without flinching or suppressing. In spite of Mr. Pierce's love for his illustrious friend he maintained through life his own independence of judgment and of action. He has a good, vigorous and racy narrative style. He is quite capable of lofty eloquence on fitting occasion, but never undertakes to use it as a cover for feebleness of thought.

Pierce's *Life of Sumner* will be the standard authority for the history of the great revolution which Charles Sumner led. There will never be any trustworthy authority for the history of the United States during that eventful period which does not study Mr. Pierce's book, or which does not adopt his conclusions. It is, so far, one of the very few masterpieces of American biographical literature. Mr. Pierce gave the best years of his life, all the accomplishments of his early education, every power of an intellect which might have brought him success and fame in any of the walks which the Republic opened to him, to embalm the memory of Charles Sumner for the admiration of posterity. The great work was well done. There is little wanting in this matchless biography. A loving sympathy with his subject; judicial impartiality; fairness to antagonists; untiring industry; thoroughness of investigation; absolute truthfulness; a contemporary and intimate knowledge of the transactions he had to relate,— all these he

possessed in an uncommon degree,— it may almost be said in a degree unexampled in the annals of biographical literature. Mr. Pierce's name will go down in history and will abide by the side of the great name of the man whom he commemorated, so long as the memory of the great contest for liberty abides in the hearts of the American people.

There were two events in the life of Edward L. Pierce which gave him especial delight,— a delight which he expressed freely in the unrestrained intercourse of private friendship. One was a day's ride which he took in company with John Bright, who had never beheld the scenes before. It was the privilege of the writer, at Mr. Pierce's suggestion, to make the same journey a few years later. The scenes seemed to be peopled not only with memories of the great men of a former time to whom it had been familiar, but with the memory of the two friends, now both dead, who had made so recently a pilgrimage to their shrines. The day's ride took them past the house of William Penn, the cottage where John Milton finished *Paradise Lost*, the home and the burial-place of Burke, the home of Gray and the country churchyard where his dust sleeps, to which, though consecrated to the rest of the dead, his muse has given immortality.

The other was a banquet given in honor of Mr. Pierce the 29th December, 1894, on his return from Europe, just after the completion of his great work. There were gathered the few survivors of the founders of the Free Soil party, and the representatives of the large number who were gone. Mr. Pierce was the guest of the evening. A list of the signers of the invitation is given below, a star marking the names of those who were present:—

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------|
| *Adams, Charles Francis. | Allison, William B. |
| *Aldrich, P. Emory. | *Baker, John I. |
| *Allen, Frank D. | *Balch, Francis V. |
| *Allen, Nathaniel T. | *Beard, Alanson W. |
| *Allen, Walter. | Bennett, Edmund H. |

- Bigelow, John.
*Bird, Charles Sumner.
*Bishop, Robert R.
*Blackwell, Henry B.
*Blanchard, S. Stillman.
*Blunt, William E.
*Bolles, Matthew.
*Borden, Simeon.
*Brayton, John S.
*Bumpus, Everett C.
*Burr, Isaac T.
Candler, John W.
*Capen, Elmer H.
*Carter, Josiah H.
*Cate, George W.
Chadwick, John W.
*Chamberlain, Mellen.
Chandler, William E.
*Churchill, John P. S.
*Claffin, Adams D.
*Claffin, Arthur B.
*Claffin, William.
*Codman, Charles R.
*Crapo, William W.
*Crocker, George G.
*Davis, Edward L.
*Davis, Robert T.
Dawes, Henry L.
*Doherty, William W.
Douglass, Frederick.
*Endicott, Charles.
*Endicott, William, Jr.
*Ernst, George A. O.
Fisher, Milton M.
Forbes, John M.
Fox, Charles B.
*Fox, William H.
*French, Asa.
Fuller, Robert O.
*Gaffield, Thomas.
*Goodell, Abner C.
*Goulding, Frank P.
*Green, Samuel A.
*Greenhalge, Frederic T.
Hale, Edward Everett.
Harris, Benjamin W.
*Haskell, Edward H.
Hawley, Joseph R.
*Heywood, Frank E.
Heywood, Samuel R.
Higginson, T. Wentworth.
*Hill, Hamilton A.
Hoar, E. Rockwood.
*Hoar, George F.
*Hoar, Rockwood.
*Hoar, Samuel.
*Hollingsworth, Amor L.
*Hopkins, William S. B.
Houghton, Henry O.
*Hunnewell, James F.
*James, George Abbot.
*Jenks, Henry F.
*Johnson, Arnold B.
*Johnson, Samuel.
*Lane, Jonathan A.
Lodge, Henry Cabot.
*Marsh Henry A.
*McClellan, Arthur D.
*McPhail, Andrew M.
*McPherson, Ebenezer M.
Monroe, George H.
Morrill, Justin S.
*Morse, Elijah A.
*Morse, Robert M.
*Newhall, Lucian.
Phillips, Stephen H.
*Phillips, Willard P.
*Pickard, Samuel T.
*Pierce, Charles Sumner.
*Pierce, George B.
*Pillsbury, Albert E.
Platt, Orville H.
*Pratt, Laban.
Purvis, Charles B.

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| *Rice, Alexander H. | *Taft, Royal C. |
| *Rice, William W. | *Talbot, Newton. |
| Robbins, Royal. | *Thayer, Charles M. |
| Robbins, Royal E. | Thayer, James B. |
| *Roberts, Louis A. | *Wales, Nathaniel. |
| Ropes, John C. | Walker, Francis A. |
| *Salisbury, Stephen. | *Walker, George. |
| Shattuck, George O. | *Walker, Joseph. |
| *Sherman, Edgar J. | *Walker, Joseph H. |
| Sherman, John. | *Ware, Horace E. |
| *Stackpole, J. Lewis. | *Washburn, Henry S. |
| *Stearns, Richard H. | Washburn, John D. |
| Stebbins, Solomon B. | Weeden, William B. |
| *Stevens, A. W. | White, Stephen V. |
| *Stoddard, Elijah B. | *Winslow, John. |
| *Stone, Eben F. | *Winslow, Samuel E. |
| *Stone, Henry. | *Wolcott, Roger. |
| *Storey, Moorfield. | *Woods, Henry. |
| Swift, John L. | *Wrightington, Stephen C. |

Cordial letters were received from the following gentlemen, all of them speaking in the highest terms of Mr. Pierce's masterly biography:—

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Henry Cabot Lodge, | Milton M. Fisher, |
| Carl Schurz, | John W. Chadwick, |
| Henry L. Dawes, | James O. Murray, |
| Chauncey L. Knapp, | Samuel May, |
| Frederick Douglass, | Alfred P. Putnam, |
| Edward Everett Hale, | William H. Baldwin, |
| John Bigelow, | Francis A. Walker, |
| John D. Long, | George H. Monroe, |
| William E. Chandler, | Merrill E. Gates, |
| James B. Angell, | Hiram Barney, |
| Frederick D. Huntington, | James G. Vose, |
| Frank B. Sanborn, | Moses Pierce, |
| James B. Thayer, | Orville H. Platt. |
| Justin Winsor, | |

The time was devoted to the memories of the greatest political achievement in the world's history ever accomplished without bloody revolution, and to congratulation

and honor for the man who had so admirably and perfectly narrated its story. Every speaker, every letter from persons unable to be present, concurred in expressing the perfect satisfaction of the friends of Charles Sumner with the work of his biographer, and the founders of the great party of freedom and their representatives with the work of its historian.

The following sentences from the letter of Rev. John White Chadwick sum up the general verdict :—

"Mr. Pierce's *Life of Sumner* will be nobly praised. It cannot be praised in excess of its deserts. It is more than a great biography of a great man. It is a great history of a great time, all of which Sumner saw, and a great part of which he was ; and that Mr. Pierce has not exaggerated that part, but rightly estimated its proportion to the parts taken by others, is one of the most marked and interesting features of his work. It is to me a marvel of fidelity, of patience, of lucidity, of fairness to all concerned."

PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 27, 1898, AT THE HALL OF THE
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, BOSTON.

THE Society was called to order at 10.30 A. M. President
SALISBURY in the chair.

The following members were present :

Edward E. Hale, George F. Hoar, Nathaniel Paine,
Stephen Salisbury, Samuel A. Green, Elijah B. Stoddard,
Edward L. Davis, James F. Hunnewell, Egbert C. Smyth,
Thomas W. Higginson, Edward H. Hall, Albert H. Hoyt,
Edward G. Porter, Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton,
Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Henry W. Haynes,
Solomon Lincoln, Andrew McF. Davis, Cyrus Hamlin,
J. Evarts Greene, Henry S. Nourse, William B. Weedon,
Daniel Merriman, Reuben Colton, Robert N. Toppan,
Henry H. Edes, Edward Channing, Frederick J. Kings-
bury, Lucien Carr, Frank P. Goulding, James P. Baxter,
A. George Bullock, G. Stanley Hall, John McK. Merriam,
William E. Foster, J. Franklin Jameson, Charles P.
Greenough, Edwin D. Mead, Henry A. Marsh, James L.
Whitney, Thomas C. Mendenhall, William T. Forbes,
Edwin A. Grosvenor, Leonard P. Kinnicutt, George H.
Haynes, William R. Livermore.

The RECORDING SECRETARY read the records of the last
meeting, which were approved.

The Report of the Council was read by Vice-President
HOAR.

Memoirs of deceased members were read as follows :

Of Gardiner Greene Hubbard by Vice-President HOAR ; of Rev. Ebenezer Cutler, D.D., by Rev. DANIEL MERRIMAN, D.D. ; of Justin Winsor, LL.D., by JAMES L. WHITNEY, A.M. ; of Hon. Thomas L. Nelson, prepared by ROCKWOOD HOAR, A.M., and read by JOHN MCK. MERRIAM, A.M.

Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON read his Report as Librarian.

Vice-President HOAR said :

Perhaps I have detained this Society much more than my share this morning. But I should like to have put on record an anecdote of Mr. Savage which may be familiar to some of the gentlemen here. The story, which I heard at the time and which I have no doubt is true—suggested by Mr. Barton's interesting reference to him—is this : There was a case on trial in the Court House in Boston relating to the title to some flats between low and high water mark. Of course there could be no title by possession or by prescription. The case lasted two or three weeks, and while it was going on the lawyer on one side put in an old deed, which under our law proved itself, and which, if it were genuine, entirely settled the claim. There was nothing to be said about it. There was this apparently ancient document. It was introduced on Saturday. The case was adjourned until Monday. The counsel on the other side thought he would take the deed down and show it to old James Savage and see if he had anything to say about it. Whereupon Mr. Savage looked at it and instantly said : "'Land situated in Boston in the Colony of Massachusetts?' but it wasn't a colony, it was a province ! 'The 14th day of October, 1719?' Sunday !" He read on a little further. "'In the fifth year of the reign of his Gracious Majesty King George the First?' Whoever heard of calling him George I. until there was a George II.?" That settled it.

Rev. Dr. EDWARD E. HALE said that he would like, in connection with what had been said of Dr. Winsor, to bear his own tribute to Dr. Winsor's uniform generosity in the assistance of other workmen. Placed, as he was, at the magnificent storehouse of historical information with regard to America which is contained in the library of Harvard College, he made that storehouse available to every inquirer. He had none of that petty feeling which makes a man think that he is the proprietor of a fact which he has discovered, but was ready to give his utmost assistance to every student.

The various reports, as constituting the report of the Council, were referred to the Committee of Publication.

The RECORDING SECRETARY, in behalf of the Council, recommended for election the following named gentlemen :

JOHN WESLEY POWELL, LL.D., of Washington, D. C.

Prof. EDWARD SYLVESTER MORSE, Ph.D., of Salem, Mass.

LEWIS WINTER GUNCKEL, Ph.B., of Dayton, Ohio.

WALDO LINCOLN, A.B., of Worcester, Mass.

Ballots being taken, the several candidates were duly elected.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN said :

Mr. President, I have been authorized by the members of the American Antiquarian Society living in Boston and Cambridge and the neighborhood, to invite the other brothers to a collation at the Parker House at half-past two this afternoon.

The invitation was accepted.

President SALISBURY said :

In the month of November of last year the Council became aware through Dr. Hale's kind offices that Mrs. J. Hammond Trumbull, widow of our associate and Secretary

for Foreign Correspondence, had found among his papers written directions in regard to various literary matters, and among them a notice that he desired that his Indian Dictionary should become the property of the American Antiquarian Society. After some correspondence in regard to the matter, the Dictionary came to Antiquarian Hall, and is now there, in four large quarto volumes; one of them being a preliminary dictionary and the other three a final issue of both the English and the Indian text. During the winter Dr. Hale was in Washington and had communication with the United States Bureau of Ethnology and with Dr. John W. Powell. I will ask Dr. Hale to state such facts in regard to that communication as he chooses.

Dr. HALE reported briefly, that Major Powell, on the part of the Bureau, had undertaken to put in print Dr. Trumbull's dictionary. The Bureau will place it in the hands of Dr. Albert S. Gatschet. The definite proposal made by Major Powell has been referred to the Council, and they have approved of it.

Vice-President HOAR said :

Mr. President, I do not think there is much to be said except what Dr. Hale has said. I suppose everybody knows that J. Hammond Trumbull was the foremost, and in his later life the only, authority on the Algonquin languages, unless you except from the latter statement, "only authority," the gentleman in the United States Geological Survey in Washington, Mr. Drennan, who has a marvellous knowledge of the same sort. Mr. Trumbull was not only that, but he was a man of wonderful accomplishment in every way. He knew the gossip of all the generations of New England as if he had been a contemporary. I sometimes think he must have been a member of a Ladies' Charitable Society in every generation. He was a very devoted member of this Society

until his health failed in his later life, when he kept aloof from all activity and pretty much from all human society.

I move that the Secretary be directed to convey to Mrs. Trumbull the thanks of the Society for this most valuable gift, and the sense of the Society of the great loss the community has sustained in his death, and the abiding and most affectionate remembrance which we all feel for him as one of our most valued and useful associates.

The motion of Vice-President HOAR was unanimously adopted.

Rev. CYRUS HAMLIN, D.D., read a paper entitled "The Genesis and Evolution of the Turkish Massacre of Armenian Subjects."

Hon. FREDERICK JOHN KINGSBURY read a paper upon Gov. John Winthrop, Jr., of Connecticut.

Rev. Dr. HALE presented to the Society what he believed was the lost ballad of Franklin on Blackbeard the Pirate. He had no doubt that "The Downfall of Piracy," in Mr. John Ashton's interesting collection called "Real Sea-Songs," is the ballad to which Franklin refers in this well-known passage in his autobiography :

"I now took a fancy to poetry, and made some little pieces. My brother, thinking it might turn to account, encouraged me, and put me on composing occasional ballads. One was called 'The Lighthouse Tragedy,' and contained an account of the drowning of Captain Worthilake, with his two daughters; the other was a sailor's song, on the taking of Teach (or Blackbeard) the pirate. They were wretched stuff, in the Grub-street-ballad style; and when they were printed he sent me about the town to sell them. The first sold wonderfully, the event being recent, having made a great noise. This flattered my vanity; but my father discouraged me by ridiculing my performances, and telling me verse-makers were generally beggars. So I escaped being a poet, most probably a very bad one."

The various essays and papers were referred to the Committee of Publication.

The meeting was dissolved at 2 P. M., and the members repaired to the Parker House to enjoy the hospitality which had been tendered them.

CHARLES A. CHASE,
Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

FOUR members of the Society have passed away in the interval since our last meeting.

Gardiner Greene Hubbard, who has been aptly spoken of as the first citizen of Washington in civil life, died at his home, at "Twin Oaks," December 11, 1897. He was elected a member of this Society April 25, 1894, and joined the Society immediately after. He was much gratified by his election. He took great interest in the objects to which the Society is devoted, and made his arrangements to attend each one of the meetings held in the interval before his death. He looked forward to these meetings with great satisfaction and delight. But he was prevented on each occasion by his own illness or that of a member of his household. He had been President of the National Geographic Society for ten years. He was one of its principal founders.

Mr. Hubbard was born August 25, 1822. He came from an ancestry from which he could not help inheriting patriotism, public spirit, and a strong interest in the history and antiquities of New England. He was descended from William Hubbard, who sailed from London on the ship *Defence* and landed at Boston, October 6, 1635. William came from Ipswich in Suffolk. He was a man of wealth, the purchaser of large tracts of land, a lover of learning, the founder of the Ipswich Grammar School. He was deputy to the General Court in 1638 and 1646, and held other public employments. He is spoken of by a contemporary as "a very learned man, being well read in State matters, of a very affable and humble behaviour, who expended much of his estate to help on this worke."

Next in the line of Mr. Hubbard's ancestors comes William Hubbard, fourth child and second son of the foregoing. He was born in Essex County, England, came to this country with his parents, and received the Master's degree at Harvard in 1642. He studied medicine at Harvard, but was ordained to the ministry in 1658. He became pastor of the Congregational Church in Ipswich, where he remained for forty-three years. His historical works are well known. Eliot describes him as "equal to any in the Province for learning and candor, and superior to all his contemporaries as a writer." His son, John Hubbard, born in Ipswich in 1648, a leading merchant in Boston, married Ann Leverett, second daughter of Sir John Leverett, a Boston merchant, soldier under Cromwell, delegate to the General Court, member of the Governor's Council, Deputy Governor, Governor, ten years Major-General of Massachusetts, knighted by Charles II., probably the ablest of New England's soldiers and statesmen after the times of Winthrop and Bradford and Sir Henry Vane until the generation of the Revolution.

John Hubbard, son of the last named John Hubbard, was born in 1677, graduated from Harvard in 1695, ordained pastor of the church in Long Island in 1698. He died in 1705, and is described as a man of gentle disposition and greatly beloved by his flock, who deplored his early death. In 1781 this John Hubbard married Mabel Russell, granddaughter of Richard Russell, and granddaughter, on the mother's side, of Samuel Wyllis. Richard Russell, born in Herefordshire, England, in 1612, came to Massachusetts in 1640; was treasurer of the Colony from 1644 to 1674; many years member of the General Court; several times Speaker; and Assistant from 1659 to 1674.

Samuel Wyllis was born in Warwick, England; settled at Hartford, Connecticut; was graduated from Harvard in 1653; in 1654 chosen a Magistrate, in which office and

that of Assistant under the charter of Charles II. he was retained by annual election until 1685. It was on his estate directly in front of his house that the famous Charter Oak stood, under which the Charter of Connecticut was hidden in 1687. He died in Hartford, May 30, 1709.

The wife of Samuel Wyllis was Ruth, daughter of Governor John Haynes. John Haynes was born in Copford, England, in 1594. He was a man of wealth and learning. He came to Massachusetts in the *Griffin* in 1633. He was elected Assistant in 1634 and became Governor of Massachusetts in 1635. A year later he removed to Hartford, Connecticut, and in 1639 was elected the first Governor of Connecticut. He was one of the five authors of the Connecticut Constitution of 1638. He was a man of steadfast integrity, of strong convictions, refined in character, and greatly beloved by his people.

The father of Samuel Wyllis was George Wyllis, born in Warwick, England, about 1570. He was a Puritan. He purchased an estate in Hartford on which to erect a house for himself and family. He came to Massachusetts two years later. He was one of the framers of the Connecticut Constitution of 1638; was chosen one of six magistrates of Connecticut at its first election, which office he held until his death in 1645. In 1641 he was chosen Deputy Governor, and a year later he was chosen Governor. Governor Wyllis was famed for his social and domestic virtues, civil manners, and a love of civil and religious liberty.

The material for the foregoing account of Mr. Hubbard's ancestry is chiefly taken from a sketch by Dr. Marcus Benjamin, historian of the Society of Colonial Wars, of which Gardiner G. Hubbard was Governor.

Daniel Russell Hubbard, the son of John Hubbard, was born in 1706, after the death of his father; was graduated from Yale in 1727; afterward tutor a year; settled as a lawyer in New London, Connecticut, where he died in

1742. His son William married as his second wife, Joanna, daughter of James Perkins, a merchant of Boston, and Joanna Mascarene. She was the daughter of Jean Paul Mascarene, a Huguenot refugee. He was born in Castres, France, in 1684; fled to Geneva in 1696, and afterward to England. He was naturalized in England and became a lieutenant in the British army in 1706. He settled and married in Boston in 1714 or before. His house was in School Street. He was afterward made Commander-in-Chief for the Province of Nova Scotia, and died at Annapolis, Nova Scotia, in 1760. The Mascarenes are said to have been an ancient family in the south of France, whose members were either in the law or in the army.

There are many persons now living who remember Samuel Hubbard, one of the most eminent lawyers and jurists of Massachusetts. He was the son of William Hubbard and Joanna Perkins Hubbard, and was born in Boston, June 2, 1785. He was one of the great judges of our great old court who had practised in their youth before Parsons and later sat on the bench with Shaw and Wilde.

Judge Hubbard was regarded by the men of his generation at the bar as a model of the professional character. He was a model magistrate upon the bench. He was profoundly religious, a firm believer in the old Calvinistic creed, of courteous, kindly and benevolent nature, elegant manners, and great public spirit. The following epitaph, written for him, but never inscribed on his monument, is worth preserving:

"OF AN ANCIENT FAMILY:
OF COMMANDING PRESENCE:
OF URBANE MANNERS AND A
KINDLY HEART:
LEARNED IN THE INSPIRED

ORACLES AS WELL AS IN HUMAN LAW :

A SOUND DIVINE NOT LESS

THAN A JUST JUDGE :

ACTIVE AS A PHILANTHROPIST

BECAUSE EARNEST AS A

CHRISTIAN ; HE MOVED

WITH AUTHORITY AMONG MEN,

AND WALKED WITH GOD, AND WAS

NOT, FOR GOD TOOK HIM."

Judge Hubbard was married to Mary Ann, the daughter of Gardiner Greene, an eminent Boston merchant, and a man of large wealth and ability. Mr. Greene's second wife, the grandmother of the subject of this sketch, was Elizabeth Hubbard. They were second cousins. The first wife of Gardiner Greene was the daughter of Copley, the celebrated painter, and a sister of Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst.

GARDINER GREENE HUBBARD, married Gertrude Mercer McCurdy, October 21, 1846. Their children were :

ROBERT MCCURDY, born December 9, 1847; died October 11, 1849.

GERTRUDE MCCURDY, born October 1, 1849; died November 13, 1886; married Maurice N. Grossmann, died November 10, 1884, and had :

GERTRUDE M. GROSSMANN, born April 23, 1882.

MABEL GARDINER, born November 25, 1857; married Alexander Graham Bell, July 11, 1877. Their children were :

ELSIE MAY BELL, born May 8, 1878.

MARIAN HUBBARD BELL, born February 15, 1880.

EDWARD BELL, born and died August 15, 1881.

ROBERT BELL, born and died November 17, 1883.

ROBERTA WOLCOTT, born June 4, 1859; died July 4, 1885; married Charles James Bell, May 11, 1881. Their children were :

HELEN ADINE BELL, born March 16, 1882.

GRACE HUBBARD BELL, born November 3, 1883.

GRACE BLATCHFORD, born October 8, 1861; married Charles James Bell, April 23, 1887. Their children were :

GARDINER HUBBARD BELL, born May 7, 1889.

CHARLES JAMES BELL, born May 15, 1891; died May 2, 1892.

ROBERT WOLCOTT BELL, born June 14, 1894.

MARIAN, born April, 1867; died August, 1869.

It is difficult to compress the fascinating story of Mr. Hubbard's useful life within the limit permitted to such sketches by the customs of this Society. He accomplished great things himself. He was the stimulant of great accomplishment in other men. He was, I think, in these respects, surpassed by few persons in his generation, certainly by no person he has left behind.

Mr. Hubbard was graduated at Dartmouth in the year 1841. He studied law at Harvard University. He was admitted to the bar in 1843, when he entered the office of Benjamin R. Curtis, retaining a connection with that firm until Judge Curtis took his seat on the Supreme Bench in 1852. He became very eminent in his profession. He was distinguished for his thorough preparation and mastery of his cases. He was always modest, and liked to associate with himself in the service of his clients men like Webster and Choate and other eminent advocates, in great cases, to the sole management of which he would doubtless have been competent. He practised law for twenty years in Boston, and then was compelled by his health to leave New England for a milder climate, and moved to Washington. He received the degree of Doctor of Laws at Columbian University, Washington, in 1888, and at Dartmouth in 1895. His active and humane public spirit had been conspicuously manifested while he dwelt in Massachusetts. His home was in Cambridge. He was a zealous promoter of all the interests of that city. He was president of the street railway between Cambridge and Boston, the first street railway ever built outside of New York City. He was president of the Cambridge Gas Light Company. He was ten years an industrious and faithful member of the State Board of Education. One of his daughters was deaf and dumb. That led Mr. Hubbard to look into a scheme, which had been proposed and carried into effect in a very few cases in Germany, for teaching deaf mutes articulate speech. He gathered half a dozen

pupils and employed a teacher and started a school, the cost of which he largely paid. He tried to get a charter from the legislature, but was refused for the reason that his plan was deemed impracticable. But he took his pupils, including his own child, before a legislative committee, and finally secured the founding of the Clark School at Northampton, said by Dr. Hamlin to be the best of its kind in the world. He was the first president of the trustees of that school, and a member till his death. He was also for many years the first Vice-President of the American Association to Promote the Teaching of Speech to the Deaf.

He was the Massachusetts Commissioner in 1876 to the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia.

He had already manifested, as a patent lawyer, and in other ways, great interest in all mechanical inventions, and a great capacity of his own in that direction.

In 1876 President Grant appointed him chairman of a special commission to investigate the entire question of railway mail transportation. Largely through his thorough and faithful work, that has been brought to a high degree of efficiency.

After his removal to Washington he took zealous interest in the establishment of a postal telegraph system; in the establishment of a free library; and of a national university.

He was president of the Alumni Association of Dartmouth College, where he established a lectureship at his own cost.

He was a regent of the Smithsonian Institution; President of the National Geographic Society; President of the General Commission of Scientific Societies in Washington; First Vice-President of the American Association of Inventors and Manufacturers; Commissioner of Awards at the Tennessee Exposition; Governor of the Society of Colonial Wars in the District of Columbia; an earnest counsellor and friend of Johns Hopkins University, and

the founder of the journal known as *Science*; Vice-President of the Columbia Historical Society; member of the Commission for the Omaha Exposition in 1898; and Director of the Central Dispensary and Emergency Hospital of Washington.

Mr. Hubbard was an enthusiastic collector of engravings. His magnificent collection is said by a competent expert to compare favorably with the Randall and Gray collections, now the property of Harvard College. Mr. Hubbard's collection is superior to those in Rembrandts and Durers, possessing some rarities which are believed to be the only examples in existence. The very interesting papers on Napoleon by Miss Ida M. Tarbell, published recently in *McClure's Magazine*, are illustrated largely, if not wholly, from the riches of the Hubbard collection. This collection, in execution of what was believed to be his desire, has been presented by Mrs. Hubbard to the National Library where a beautiful apartment has been set apart for its use and custody.

Mr. Hubbard was one of the most charming of hosts. His beautiful residence on Connecticut Avenue, crowded with works of art and attractive household ornaments, and his country residence, "Twin Oaks," two or three miles from the solid part of the city of Washington, he liked to fill with guests. The gracious and quiet host was, however, more attractive than painting or statue. Every person of distinction in public life or literature visiting the capital of the country was to be met there. His circle of friends grew wider as he grew old. I suppose many famous men have made fast friendships with one another through the opportunity which his hospitality offered.

When Mr. Hubbard died not only a great light went out in Washington, but it seemed as if a great institution had come to an end.

But Mr. Hubbard's greatest single benefaction to mankind remains to be spoken of. It was a rare good fortune

that it is due to the same man, that communication by oral speech has been established with the benumbed and darkened soul of the deaf and dumb, and that men have been enabled to hear across the continent the quiet tones of the human voice as if they were speaking together face to face. Under the inspiration of Gardiner Greene Hubbard the vocal speech of the deaf and dumb became a practical reality. Under the same inspiration the telephone, which till then had been but a toy, became the one most valuable instrument in the communication of mankind.

Mr. Hubbard seldom spoke of himself or his own achievements. His sense of justice and modesty alike would have prevented him from sanctioning any claim for himself which should fail to do justice to those to whose genius these two great benefits to mankind are owing. Least of all would it have been possible for him to consent that any claim should be intruded after a fashion that would tend in the least to dim the glory of Alexander Graham Bell. But the wisdom which saw earlier than all other men the value to mankind of these two great discoveries, the large business sagacity, the courage, the untiring energy, which made them at once available for the service of the human race, were his. Mr. Bell, the inventor of the telephone and the husband of the child who was among the first to be benefited by teaching the deaf to converse with the lips and to understand the oral utterance of others, has himself borne generous testimony to the benefit conferred on mankind by Mr. Hubbard in this way. He well says of him, "His views were not confined to narrow horizons. Without making any claim to be a specialist in science himself, he had an exceedingly clear conception of the relation of the sciences to one another."

Mr. Hubbard had a genius for friendship. He was, as has been said, a charming host. He had the hospitality of the intellect and of the soul,—that hospitality which receives and welcomes new friends, new thoughts, new

plans for the service and advancement of mankind. To his house every man who visited Washington, famous in any department of science or letters, loved to repair to enjoy the delightful converse of that refined and brilliant circle, always sure of kindest welcome. But it was not only to famous men and women, whose presence conferred honor on him, that Mr. Hubbard's courtesy was extended. Young men and women, unknown to fame, with the capacity and the honorable aspiration to become worthy and useful citizens, found from his kind heart a generous welcome, wise counsel and unfailing sympathy.

It is a great misfortune to this Society and a great disappointment to those of us who knew him best that his desire for a closer intimacy with our associates and to take a part in our work was disappointed.

Of the other three deceased members, memorials follow: of Ebenezer Cutler, by Rev. Daniel Merriman, D.D.; of Justin Winsor, by James L. Whitney, A.M.; and of Thomas L. Nelson, by Rockwood Hoar, A.M.

Rev. Ebenezer Cutler, D.D., the eldest of six children, was born at Royalston, Massachusetts, August 21, 1822. He was in the eighth generation from John Cutler, an English Puritan, who settled in Hingham in 1637. His mother was Betsey Atkins, born in Phillipston, Massachusetts.

When Dr. Cutler was a lad of twelve, his father, who was an intelligent and prosperous farmer, removed to Waterford, a town in northern Vermont, and there, on a farm largely devoted to stock raising, young Cutler grew up. He was fitted for college at Newbury Academy, Vermont, and entered the University of Vermont in 1841, where he took high rank as a scholar, and was graduated in 1845. Among his associates there were the late Mr. Henry O. Houghton, the well known publisher, and the

Rev. Nathaniel G. Clark, D.D., for many years the distinguished Foreign Secretary of the American Board of Missions.

Immediately after leaving college he entered Andover Theological Seminary in preparation for the ministry, where he had as instructors those famous Professors, Moses Stuart, Henry B. Smith, Leonard Woods and Edwards A. Park, and among his classmates, one who became another eminent Secretary of the American Board, the Rev. Edmund K. Alden, D.D.

After he was graduated at Andover in 1848 he preached at various places, chiefly at Derby, Vermont, and in 1850 he was ordained and installed as the fifth pastor of the Congregational Church in St. Albans, Vermont, where he remained five years, when he was called to be the pastor of the Union Congregational Church in Worcester, Massachusetts, and was installed there September 5th, 1855. He occupied this position with ability for twenty-five years when failing health compelled him to resign, and he was dismissed in 1880. He was afterwards, however, made pastor *Emeritus* of the church, and held this title until his death from pneumonia, January 16th, 1898, in Worcester.

Dr. Cutler received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Vermont in 1866. He was invited to become the President of the same college in 1865, and shortly afterwards was asked to take a professorship in the Hartford Theological Seminary, but he preferred to remain in the pastorate.

In 1871 he was elected a corporate member of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, but resigned in 1896, because no longer able to attend the meetings. He served as a Director of the Free Public Library in Worcester from 1864 to 1869, and was elected a member of this Society in April, 1885, but he seldom attended our meetings. He was one of the leading pro-

jectors of the Congregational Club of Worcester in 1874; was its first President and continued for a long time active in its affairs. For several years after his retirement from the pastorate, he conducted a class of ladies at his house in the study of Shakespeare, Chaucer and Wordsworth.

Dr. Cutler married July 25, 1849, E. Jane, daughter of John Charlton of Littleton, New Hampshire. She was born April 19, 1826, was graduated at Mount Holyoke Seminary in 1846, and died in Worcester, June 5, 1859. By her he had two sons and one daughter. The eldest son and the daughter died in childhood, leaving one son, George Rutherford, who was born June 3, 1853, was graduated at the University of Vermont in 1876, and is now practising law at the west.

For his second wife Dr. Cutler married January 10, 1861, Marion Chappell, the daughter of the Rev. William Eaton, who survives her husband.

Dr. Cutler for years before his death was in delicate health, which limited his activity. He was a tall, spare man, very erect, with a grave face and a commanding air. His temperament was conservative and his manner reserved, but those who knew him well discovered in him great geniality, a rich vein of humor, deep and tender sympathies and a capacity for hearty laughter.

He possessed a vigorous and well trained intellect, high character and sincere piety. He was a clear and discriminating thinker, a writer of pure and strong English, and an accurate scholar.

In his theology Dr. Cutler was a pronounced Calvinist, firm and well reasoned in his convictions, broad in his judgments and exalted in his conceptions, but not very familiar or sympathetic with the methods or results of the new learning or new theology.

As a preacher and pastor Dr. Cutler was one of the very finest and latest examples of the old fashioned type of

minister—a type rapidly passing away. In the pulpit, he was intellectual, logical, massive, forcible, disdaining every art of the sensationalist, winning no commonplace applause, but in his prime holding firmly a full congregation of able, thinking, devoted people, by the power of his thought, the charm of his style and the manifest sincerity of his purpose. A few of his sermons were printed from time to time: such as "The Rights of the Sword," preached in the Civil War, and "Social Privileges and Obligations," delivered on Thanksgiving Day. These show the hand of a master.

As a pastor Dr. Cutler possessed none of the qualities, methods or ambitions of the modern high pressure church organizer, but was unobtrusive, faithful, sympathetic. In the ordinary sense of the term he was very far from being a popular man. He was too much of a Puritan for that, with a bearing too dignified and austere. He had no art or desire to keep himself before the world. He took little part in public affairs and was very unskilled in business, though he was an extremely good judge of horses, of which he was very fond and with which he was familiar in his youth.

His influence in the community was mainly due to his thoughtful preaching, and to a certain balance and seriousness of character which made people reverence him as a noble man and minister of the old school. D. M.

Justin Winsor, the son of Nathaniel Winsor and Ann Thomas (Howland) Winsor, was born at Boston on the second day of January, 1831. Here and at Duxbury, the home of his grandparents, his early years were spent. Through them he became interested in Duxbury, and began when a boy to collect materials for its history, finding his way, as he himself has said, "to many of the aged inhabitants of the town, to whose tales I have listened with interest, and whose words I have taken from their lips." In 1849, when he was eighteen years old, this

material was published as "The History of the Town of Duxbury, Massachusetts, with Genealogical Registers." All the region made memorable by the Pilgrims was enchanted ground to him, and its history and traditions never lost their charm. In none of his writings is a more glowing enthusiasm shown than in his address at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the incorporation of Duxbury, "The Mayflower Town," as he called it.

Mr. Winsor's school days were passed at Sandwich and at the Chauncy-Hall and Public Latin schools of Boston. He entered Harvard College in 1849. Seeking a greater freedom of choice in his studies, he left college at the end of his junior year and studied for two years at Paris and in the University of Heidelberg.¹

On his return Mr. Winsor devoted himself to literary work, becoming a contributor to the "*Round Table*," the "*Crayon*" and the "*New York World*." Through a school-mate he had become interested in the drama, and especially in the career of David Garrick. The entry in a blank book still preserved, "Books examined for preparation for a Life of Garrick, 1851," shows that this subject was engaging his attention while in college. These notes in time filled ten folio volumes, but absorption in other directions prevented their being brought to a perfected work. His father was the treasurer of the newly founded "Church of the Unity," and Mr. Winsor himself became interested in its affairs. With the pastor of the church he compiled a hymn book, for which he wrote numerous hymns.

Mr. Winsor was appointed a Trustee of the Boston Public Library in 1867. He was chosen Chairman of the Finance Committee and selected by the Committee of Citizens for the Examination of the Library to write its

¹ The degree of A.B. was conferred by Harvard College upon Mr. Winsor in 1868; the degree of LL.D. by the University of Michigan, in 1887, and by Williams College, in 1893.

report. This document excited attention in this country and in Europe. At the death soon after of the Superintendent, Mr. Charles C. Jewett, Mr. Winsor was appointed Trustee in charge and later Superintendent of the Library.

All the dissatisfaction he may have felt at his own achievements hitherto, passed away at the threshold of his new career. In his own words, "I found myself in a position congenial to my tastes, conscious both of the excellent condition in which the institution was placed for a career of development, and ambitious of enlarging its scope in accordance with the principles which wise men had made its fundamental laws."¹ It was his aim to accomplish this by granting a greater freedom in the use of books, by reducing the age limit of borrowers, by establishing branch libraries in parts of the city distant from the centre, and by the preparation of a printed card catalogue. He sought also a close contact with readers and to guide them in the selection and discriminating use of books by means of annotated catalogues. By reason of these and other measures the use of the library increased seven-fold and the interest in its progress was wide-spread.

Mr. Winsor became Librarian of the Harvard College Library in 1877. He brought to this office the same purpose and the same vigor as to the management of the Boston Public Library. That purpose was "that books should be used to the largest extent possible and with the least trouble."²

The new system of education which substituted independent research for recitations from text-books, required that students be brought directly to the books needed. For this, provision was made by the enlargement of the reading-rooms and the transfer thereto of a working library to which unrestricted access was given. Libraries for special departments were established, while the collections

¹ Annual report of the Boston Public Library for 1876.

² Report of the Librarian of Harvard College, 1878.

of the graduate schools were brought into closer relations with the central library. A new classification of the library was begun and the card catalogue was made more serviceable, and was supplemented by bulletins and bibliographical lists. As a result of these efforts the recorded use of books increased from fifty-seven per cent. to ninety-five per cent. of the number of enrolled students, and the library became the centre of the University system, as from the first Mr. Winsor intended.

In these busy years Mr. Winsor had not lost his interest in historical studies. His transfer to the Harvard College Library had been a welcome one because of the increased opportunity offered for the prosecution of those studies. At the Boston Public Library he devoted himself especially to the study of its collections of historical literature, the results of which were embodied in its well known catalogues of history and historical fiction. Later he traced the sources and authorities in American history in a series of critical articles in the bulletins of the library, of which the part relating to the Revolution was published in 1879 under the title "The Readers' Handbook of the American Revolution."

The approach of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Boston suggested the preparation in connection with his friends, of a memorial history of the city. This history, as Mr. Winsor has said, was "cast on a novel plan, not so much in being a work of coöperation, but because, so far as could be, the several themes, as sections of one homogeneous whole, have been treated by those who have some particular association and, it may be, long acquaintance with the subject."¹ It was published in 1880, in four volumes, and its success led to a coöperative undertaking of a much wider scope, namely, the "Narrative and Critical History of America," which was issued from the press in eight volumes between the years 1884 and

¹ Preface.

1889. In both these works the narrative is accompanied by minute and discriminating references to manuscript sources and printed authorities, and is enriched with illustrations and fac-similes of maps and documents. Although Mr. Winsor called himself only an editor, every chapter is illuminated by his learning and research. His additions took the form of bibliographical appendixes and notes, which have been called his greatest contributions to human knowledge.

In later years four works followed, chronological in their course of historical narrative, namely: "Christopher Columbus and How He Received and Imparted the Spirit of Discovery"; "Cartier to Frontenac, Geographical Discovery in the Interior of North America in its Historical Relations, 1534-1700"; "The Mississippi Basin, the Struggle in America between England and France, 1697-1763"; and "The Westward Movement, the Colonies and the Republic West of the Alleghanies, 1763-1798." The last mentioned of these Mr. Winsor left in the printer's hands as he sought rest, in the summer of 1897, in a visit with his family to England. When to a group of friends who accompanied him on the voyage he said that the work he had planned was now finished, they little realized the significance of his words.

These writings have an especial interest in their lucid and attractive presentation of the views of early voyagers and geographers on the cartography of America. This was a favorite study with Mr. Winsor and one in which he became an authority. At the time of the Venezuela boundary controversy, at the request of the United States government, he made a report on the maps of the region under discussion, which report forms a part of the published proceedings of the Commission.

Other writings of Mr. Winsor have appeared, independently, or in the publications of the libraries at Boston and Cambridge and the historical societies of which he was a member.

When Mr. Winsor began his work as librarian there were comparatively few libraries in this country, and these were conducted almost without community of interest and coöperation. It was his first endeavor to acquaint himself with the workings of these institutions at home and abroad and to make this knowledge available to all. This might justly be called the beginning of the movement which has established a library in nearly every town in Massachusetts and in hundreds of places in other states, and which movement received its chief impulse in 1876, at the formation of the American Library Association, of which Mr. Winsor was the first President. To this office he was again chosen twenty-one years later, when, as its representative and also that of the United States government, he was one of the presiding officers at the International Conference of Librarians at London in 1897. During this period probably no library enterprise of significance has been undertaken in this country without his counsel.

Descended from a line of men of affairs, Mr. Winsor had great executive force and tenacity of purpose. He was at the same time affectionate and trustful, inviting a quick response and loyal service from his associates. He had, as one of his friends has said, "what may almost be called a genius for friendship—a human, gentle, considerate, hospitable intimacy which comprehended many lives in many lands for many years."¹

As his companions and sharers of this friendship, the members of this Society may well offer tribute to the memory of their associate in the words of one who has been called England's greatest living poet:

"'Tis human fortune's happiest height, to be
A spirit melodious, lucid, poised, and whole;
Second in order of felicity
I hold it, to have walk'd with such a soul."²

J. L. W.

¹ Professor Francis G. Peabody at Appleton Chapel, Harvard University.

² William Watson: "The Hope of the World."

Thomas Leverett Nelson, LL.D., died in Worcester, Massachusetts, Sunday, November 21st, 1897. He was born in Haverhill, New Hampshire, March 4th, 1827, and was one of twelve children, four sons and eight daughters, of John and Lois Leverett Nelson. His father was graduated from Dartmouth College in 1803, studied law with Christopher Gore of Boston, and practised in Haverhill until his death, in 1838. His mother was the daughter of John Leverett of Windsor, Vermont, and was born in Middletown, Connecticut, where her parents had moved from Boston at the outbreak of the Revolution. His Leverett ancestors filled conspicuous and honorable places in Massachusetts history. Thomas Leverett, for whom Judge Nelson was named, was Alderman of the Borough of Boston, England, and Ruling Elder of the First Church in Boston, Massachusetts, for seventeen years. His son John was Captain in the Parliamentary army and the friend of Cromwell, agent of the Colony to the English Court, Major-General of the Massachusetts forces, Deputy Governor, Governor from 1673 to 1679, through the stormy period of King Philip's War, and knighted afterwards, as it is asserted, by King Charles the Second, perhaps in recognition of the distinguished service he then rendered. The family was of great antiquity in Lincolnshire and is mentioned in the Herald's Visitation as bearing arms in 1564.

Judge Nelson was fitted for college at the Kimball Union Academy at Meriden, New Hampshire, and entered Dartmouth College in 1842. After remaining there two years he entered the University of Vermont at Burlington, from which he was graduated in 1846. He entered upon the profession of engineering and for several years was actively engaged in railroad construction in New England, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania.

In 1851 he received a severe injury to his knee which threatened to disable him permanently. In the tedious

recovery from this accident he began the study of the law, completing his course in the office of the late Judge Francis H. Dewey of Worcester and was admitted to the bar in 1855. He entered into partnership with William W. Rice and later with Dwight Foster. After Judge Foster's removal to Boston he continued his practice alone in the same offices with George F. Hoar.

He was elected to the General Court as Representative in 1869 and served as chairman of the Judiciary Committee. In 1870 he was elected City Solicitor of Worcester and held the office for four years. During that period much important legislation affecting the city's interests was enacted and carried into force. The Union Station act of 1871 was framed by him, which consolidated the passenger stations of the five roads centering in Worcester and required great ingenuity and clearness in adjusting the conflicting interests involved.

Modest and diffident in manner, with little of oratorical power or of firmness or vigor of utterance, yet he made himself known as being profoundly versed in the principles of law and equity, and of an acute and subtle intellect. He was full of resources—never more so than when a cause seemed hopeless or an adverse decision inevitable. In doubtful and intricate matters his advice was frequently sought. There was scarcely a man of large affairs in the county who did not know that in Mr. Nelson was to be found a man of keen insight, untiring mental activity, and profound knowledge. His early mathematical training must have been of great value to him as a mental discipline. His memory of decided cases and his power of applying them to every phase of a question to be considered, was most remarkable. It was a fascination to be with Judge Nelson while he was preparing an opinion or a brief for argument. First came the case, name and often numbered volume of the reports, then with unerring recollection the vital point of its decision with the process of

reasoning by which the conclusion was reached and its application established. Power was not given him to overcome prejudice or to arouse the passions or mislead the minds of unthinking men. Eloquence of speech was denied him. But in the close and searching study of legal principles he was a master and his briefs reached a very high standard of legal excellence. He won deserved prominence in rank in the estimation of the court. He was appointed by it one of the committee to frame rules for its equity practice. He was thoroughly versed in the principles of the bankruptcy law. The remedies in equity which supplemented the less elastic and less far-reaching judgments of the court of law were known to him.

Men in general love great physical achievements or business successes. He rejoiced in intellectual triumphs. I never knew him boast to an opponent of his victory, but no gratification ever brought keener joy to lover or warrior than did the winning a case upon a point of law to this modest and retiring lawyer.

He suffered most keenly from the blows of pain or sorrow or ill fortune. In the generous fellowship of the bar he was ever ready with acute suggestion to his brethren. No one put a case to him who did not bear away a most valuable contribution towards the solution of his difficulty.

He was a most delightful companion. His taste in poetry, literature, art, in all the beauty of nature, its star or flower, its wood or field or lake, was exquisite and unerring. Had fortune given him the adornments and surroundings of wealth as nature gave him intellectual refinement, he would have made his home the abode of a delicate and refined hospitality, which his own personality would have adorned.

Judge Nelson was twice married: first to Anna Hastings Hayward of Mendon, by whom he had two children, Mary Hayward Nelson, a girl of great sweetness and delicacy who died in youth, and Harry Leverett Nelson, a man of

great brilliancy and promise, who died shortly after his admission to the bar in 1889. He later married Louisa A. Slocum of Millbury, who with four of their five children survives him.

His fellow-citizens brought him many expressions of their esteem. He was chosen a member of this Society in October, 1878. He was a member of the Worcester Fire Society; a director of the Central National Bank from 1863 and its solicitor almost until his death. In 1872 he was elected a director of the Worcester Free Public Library and during the last four years of his six years' term was chairman of the board. He was a director of the State Mutual Life Assurance Company, and was for years the commissioner for Massachusetts of the Providence and Worcester Railroad.

Other men might perhaps have done it, but to him and to him alone the student, the lawyer and the judge owe it that Worcester County has one of the finest and best equipped law libraries for practical use that can be found. The college from which he was graduated gave him the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1885.

In 1879 he was appointed Judge of the United States Court for the District of Massachusetts, succeeding Judge John Lowell who had been appointed to the Circuit Court. This appointment was made by President Hayes on the recommendation of General Devens, his Attorney-General, and with the cordial approval of those who knew him. He soon mastered the duties of his new office and filled it to the satisfaction of the bar and of his associates until years brought him the right to retire from engrossing duties to the calm delights and agreeable occupations of dignified old age. This, however, was not to be. A fatal disorder seized upon him early in 1897, while still upon the bench, and though he rallied so as to resume, to some extent, his duties, his life ended near the close of the year. The daily papers and the records of the associations with

which he had been so honorably connected contain fitting expressions of the sense of loss which the community thus sustained. A memorial containing the proceedings before the United States Court will soon be published. In accepting the resolutions presented to the Court in his honor, Judge Webb said: "His life was filled with faithful and honorable work and affords an example of unpretentious usefulness which must be valued more and more the more it is examined and known." The feeling of his judicial associates towards him is shown by these few words from a letter written by Judge Aldrich, when the tidings of his death were received: "Of course I cannot do otherwise than view his departure as a loss to our judicial family, but above and beyond I grieve for the loss of a friend: I had come to be so fond of him and to enjoy so much his lack of pretension, his bright, epigrammatic sayings, his honesty, his frankness and his courage. It needed no long time to learn his honorable nature and his great ability, and to form for him sentiments of confidence, affection and esteem. He was a man of pure life, of vigorous intellect, of refined and elevated tastes, and of a true and affectionate heart."

R. H.

For the Council,

GEORGE F. HOAR.

A FAMOUS FÊTE.

BY GEORGE F. HOAR.

THE National Library, through the efforts of our associate, Henry Vignaud, Esq., first Secretary of the Embassy of the United States at Paris, has just acquired a very interesting and curious historical relic which its librarian and the librarian of the State Department have been seeking to discover for more than twenty years. Mr. Sumner in his report on the French Spoliation Claims, made to the Senate from the Committee on Foreign Relations in 1864, gives an account of the humiliating treatment of our envoys, James Monroe and his associates, who came back from France, baffled and insulted; of the expected war when Washington was summoned from his retirement to take his place at the head of our armies; of the renewal of the negotiations by President Adams in spite of the angry remonstrance of the Federalists; and of the success of the new embassy consisting of Oliver Ellsworth, William Vans Murray and Governor William R. Davie of North Carolina. Patrick Henry was first appointed, but was compelled by age and infirmity to decline and Governor Davie took his place.

This triumph of American diplomacy was gained when Bonaparte was First Consul, just after his return from his campaign of glory and victory in Italy. Whatever else may be said of Napoleon Bonaparte, the people of the United States have great reason to regard him as a friend and benefactor.

The conclusion of this treaty, most advantageous and honorable to both nations, was celebrated by a magnificent fête, one of the most splendid among the splendors of that time. The convention was signed at Morte Fontaine, the

country house of Joseph Bonaparte, the first-named of the French Commissioners. Napoleon himself was present with his associates in the then Republican Government of France. Lafayette was there, just rescued from his Austrian dungeon. His wife, who owed her escape from the scaffold and the guillotine to the spirited interference of an American woman, the wife of James Monroe, seems to have been absent. There were gathered many persons distinguished in the political and social life of France. There were the American Commissioners, headed by Oliver Ellsworth, famous for his great Revolutionary services, famous afterward in the civil life of the early years of the Constitution, wearing upon his head the triple crown of statesmanship, jurisprudence and diplomacy. He is, save Marshall alone, the most illustrious on the illustrious roll of our Chief Justices. He was one of the very greatest men in the Convention that framed the Constitution. He had signed the Declaration of Independence. His great influence as a senator in Washington's administration has become known to his countrymen even through the barrier of the closed doors of the Senate chamber. Aaron Burr, the Vice-President, said of him that his influence over the Senate was so great that if he were to undertake to spell the name of the Deity with two "d's" it would take the Senate three weeks to get rid of the superfluous letter. To these two wreaths he was to add that of the successful negotiation in which after so many failures his country was saved from a war with France, then governed by the most famous soldier of Europe in the very flush and triumph of his greatest victory. If we estimate men by moral quality, by useful service, and by consummate wisdom, Oliver Ellsworth was the most illustrious of that illustrious company, not excepting Bonaparte himself. No other certainly can be compared with him, unless it be America's friend and idol, the adopted son of Washington, Lafayette.

The scene has been preserved for us by an engraving, which is among the curiosities of French art. It is by François Piranesi, sometimes called the Cavalier Piranesi, son of Jean-Baptiste Piranesi, the Michel Angelo of engravers, the famous Italian whom many persons account the greatest engraver that ever lived. His noble reproductions of the magnificent ruins of Roman architecture, now growing scarce, are eagerly sought by collectors. His genius idealized and added a new grandeur to the architecture of imperial and mediæval Rome. He left three children—a daughter, Laura, and two sons, François and Peter,—all of whom pursued their father's vocation. The only one who attained any considerable distinction was François. He was a favorite of Napoleon. The Emperor's interposition rescued him from prison where he had been committed by order of the King of Naples, who seized him and his collection of engravings and plates as he was about to embark for France. This collection made by the younger Piranesi embraces his own engravings, and, which are much more valuable, and I suppose by far the larger number, those of the father. There are various estimates of the number of these prints; one states it as 1,733, one as 2,000 and one as 4,000. This valuable collection passed into the possession of the French government. François also established in France a manufactory of painted vases, candelabra, tripods of terra cotta in imitation of the Etruscan and other ancient productions,—all which were finally acquired by the government. He died in 1810 in poverty. He also had a political career of considerable activity and distinction. He was *chargé d'affaires* of King Gustavus III. of Sweden at the Court of Rome, and in 1798 was sent to Paris as the Minister of the Roman Republic.

The figures in this print are colored somewhat rudely, but I suppose as well as the progress of the art at that time made possible. But the picture enables the student

of history to reconstruct in his imagination the brilliant spectacle. It is interesting not only as showing the importance which the French people attributed to this renewal of peaceful relations with their old ally, but as showing also what events and what characters in American history were most highly esteemed by the French people so shortly after the close of the war of our Revolution, when so many of its conspicuous characters were still upon the stage.

This was the first convention concluded by the Consular government. Napoleon himself, the First Consul, proposed a toast "To the manes of the French and the Americans who died on the field of battle for the independence of the new world." The second Consul, Cambacérès, proposed the toast: "To the successor of Washington." The third Consul, Lebrun: "To the union of America with the powers of the North for the securing the freedom of the high seas."

At the bottom of the print is a key which gives an explanation of the principal figures and objects which it represents, and which is itself as good and compact a description of the work of art as could be made. It will be observed that there is an emblem of Trenton, the Federal City. This is due to the fact that the archives of the government had been temporarily transferred to Trenton because of the existence of a pestilence at Philadelphia. The key here follows.

Convention entre la République Française et
les États-Unis d'Amérique.

Signée

à Mortefontaine le onze Vendémiaire, An 9

3 Octobre 1800

et Vue des Jardins dans lesquels a été célébrée la Fête donnée à cette occasion.

1. Le monument représente la France et l'Amérique qui se donnent la main en signe d'amitié.
2. Bustes de Washington et de Franklin.
3. Le Candelabre qui fut donné par les États-unis à l'époque du 1^{er} traité conclu avec la France.

4. Autel de la Liberté sur lequel les Ministres Plénipotentiaires des deux Nations jurèrent Paix et Union.
5. Les Ministres Plénipotentiaires de la République Française.
6. Les Ministres Plénipotentiaires des Etats-unis d'Amérique.
7. Le trois Consuls de la République Française.
8. Le Secrétaire d'État.
9. Les Ministres de la République Française.
10. Les Présidents des Sections du Conseil d'État.
11. Le Président du Sénat.
12. Le Président du Corps Législatif.
13. Le Président du Tribunal.
14. Le Président du Tribunal de Cassation.
15. Le Préfet du Département de l'Oise.
16. Le Sous-Préfet de l'arrondissement de Senlis.
17. Les Envoyés du Département de l'Oise au premier Vendémiaire.
18. Les Maires des principales Villes maritimes de France.
19. Le Corps Diplomatique.
20. Groupes de Dames et de Citoyens invités à la Fête.
21. Le C^{eu} Despreaux, Ordonnateur de la Fête célébrée à Morte-fontaine.
22. Saugeon, maire de Morte-fontaine.

EMBLÈMES.

23. Federa-City. TRENTON.
24. Cornes d'Abondance.
25. Au 19 Octobre 1781. YORCK-TOWN.
26. Philadelphie, Havre, Brest. GREEN. au dessus une figure représentant la Paix portant une branche d'Olivier de France en Amérique.
27. Un vaisseau Américain naviguant avec un vaisseau Français.
28. Au 17 8^{bre} 1777. SARATOGA.
29. Une Lire avec branche d'olivier.
30. Un Aigle. LEXINGTON.
31. Au 4 Juillet 1776. Indépendance Américaine. HANCOCK.
32. Deux faisceaux unis. WARREN.
33. Au 9 Vendémiaire, An IX.
34. Deux Couronnes d'Olivier. PUTNAM.
35. à Wasington. BUNKERS-HILL.
36. Un Caducée avec une ancre.
37. à Franklin. MONTGOMERY.
38. Un conducteur Electrique avec ce vers de Turgot :
Eripuit Coelo fulmen sceptrumque Tyranni.

William Vans Murray has left behind him a diary never published, now the property of the government of the United States and among the treasures of the Congressional Library at Washington. The diary indicates that he was

an intelligent and wide-awake observer with great capacity for describing character, and I think will tend, when published in full, to raise his reputation as a man of large capacity. Upon the fly-leaf are several pencil drawings which are somewhat above the capacity of a clever school-boy, with which he seems to have amused himself in idle hours. Among them is a very amusing caricature of his colleague, Oliver Ellsworth, and a sketch of Bonaparte, which has a good deal of interest. Accurate copies of these accompany this report. I extract from the diary the account of the fête at Morfontaine.

Fête given by Mr. Joseph Bonaparte at his chateau of Morfontaine on Friday the 3d Oct. 1800 (11 Vendemiaire an 9. French.)

Mr. J. B. was President of the French Commission to treat with us, he is eldest brother of the consul, aged 33, the consul is 32 only. Lucien is 30 (the Min. of the Interior). Louis appears to be about 27. Madame, the sister about 25. Made. Murat, wife of the general about 20 and a young brother, now a private in the garde du corps about 18, named Jerome. Made. B. wife of the consul, late Made. Bauharnois (Her husb'd was guillotined) must be 45, her daughter Mdle. B. about 17.

Mr. J. B. is marry'd, I do not know the first name of his wife, a small delicate woman, a little jealous. He resembles his family who are all alike, none tall nor athletic, but neatly and actively made with dark complexion or rather an India pale brunet colour, black hair. Mr. J. B. has a mild disposition, tranquil, a little lazy, guarded, but not reserved, a pleasing countenance, loves the chase and his country estate wh he purchased of the heirs of the late owner Mr. Morfontaine who died quietly in his bed! He has an easy flow of literary knowledge wh comes from him like insensible pusperation without his seeming to know it, he is very unaffected and wh out pretense, the bane of the french clever men.

Mr. La Fayette who had been invited went in our carriage, we could but admire the beauty of the country to Morfontaine, the whole road from Louvre show'd that the common people knew there was a Fête going forward, we perpetually met the return post horses and but on one occasion did we see them go off the road and ride through the Luzerne field's edge, for there are no fences nor ditch, a row of trees only protects the fields in full cultivation.

At Louvre we changed horses, a crowd of poor beggars flocked to the windows of our coach, mostly women, yellow and squallid. The horses and jack boots, the jack boots of a french postilion

nearly the size of a hominy mortar! were immediately hitched and off we went at 7 miles, but their harness is always bad, ropes for traces, miserable bridles, horses excellent, but wherever leather, rope or iron enter into the service you fail in France. The country became irregular and picturesque. We arrived at half past three. It is a modern chateau of about an hundred years old, with a large court in front, fosse, and buildings and offices on the sides of the court. There were cannon and troops in front. It is on the edge of the Village. Its back front has the South and commands a view of the Lawn pleasure grounds and river or piece of serpentine water, the extremities of wh are concealed as it seems to issue from a pile of rock on the side of the Lawn and winds diagonally towards the Chateau, near wh it is lost in thickets of shrubs and trees, a bridge in the more distant part, an island with shrubs, groups of Chsnut, Locusts, and willows, to the right and left pleasure grounds trees walks and statues concealed in the shrubbery, a very pretty cupid with his finger on his lips in a thick shrubbery show'd that Mr. Morfontaine's taste was of the age of chivalry wh is past in France and where little secresy attends the little deity either in shrubberies or in gilded Salons. In the distance is a handsome Pavillion that commands a fine view of the surrounding country and hills, from the rock or grotto in it the water tinckles, how it gets there I could not learn, certainly by pipes from some higher source as the gardens and park are not high enough in any part to afford it. The House is spacious, at least 150 feet long. The buildings on the court, les accessoires, extensive, and the whole furnished and alive with company, soldiers and servants, and Hammers in the part on the left wing preparing for the Fête, for the whole was prepared between the 1 and 3d oct. the day we went.

We were invited by Mr. Joseph Bonaparte on the 1 to be there at XI a. m.

When we arrived we found my colleagues, Mr. Ellsworth was indisposed and in his room, for each of us had a bed room with a good fire, and were invited to stay all night. We drove to the chateau and did not go to the village. We were shown by Mr. J. B. who received us very kindly, into the breakfast room on the left through a corridor into a large billiard room and thence to it, we found most of the company done breakfast. Mr. Fleurieu ordered us what we wanted. It was a dejeuner Française, froid et chaud, patties of fowl, beef &c. &c. cold, bouillon &c. &c. wines, cordials, tea, coffee, chocolate.

vid. post 5 pages at A.

We then all assembled in the Salon, a room about 44 feet long, in the right. The Spanish minister Count Musquez, Mr. Dryer, Danish, Mr. Frabajas Ligurian (Genoese), Baron Sandos Prussian (but not his wife) Baron Poppenheim, Hesse Darmstadt, (), Hesse Cassel, Mr. Roederer, Mr. Fouché of Police Gen'l,

Mr. & Made. Fleurieu, Mr. & Made. DuBazin, Made. Jancourt, Made. Murat, Prefet of Bouvais, La Forest, Micot, Cassus, Made. Bonaparte, Made. Bonaparte her Mother of that singular family, a lady who looks as young as the Consul's wife, and a pleasing looking woman, she is not more than 46, Lucien Bonaparte min. of the Interior and his two little children of whom he seems very fond, his wife died 6 months since. Col. Louis Bonaparte, and Jerome, a great number of ladies and public men at least 150, at half past four.

The changes of the Title of the Treaty to Convention, and of the Style from begin'g F. Rep., to the Premier Consul, were to be made and of course new signatures, before dinner, the French mins. was there but Pichon had not arrived (their Secretary who had their copies, he was to come with Mr. Talleyrand).

At half past four a cannon announced an arrival, and a guard du corps arrived as avant courier of the Consul who in 3 minutes after dashed into the court with a coach and six white horses, guards before and behind. He entered the Salon, the company standing and the members of the gov't approach'g the door to receive him. He was drest as Col. of his guards, blue faced with white, red cape, and sword on, he was very affable, in five minutes he proposed a walk, and asked me to join him. We went out and walked in the shrubbery alone for half an hour, his conversation was general, about the rapprochement we had made and the good understanding wh w'd now follow. I spoke to him freely about the privateers wh ought to be well restrained or their colonies wd yet be ruined, of the approaching peace of the continent and my wish that Engd. also were in the pacification. On our return we met the Spanish and Danish mins., he asked where is Sandos, and it was remarked his wife was with child. *Il est trop agé pour faire un acte semblable, il a viellée beaucoup depuis, quel sottise!* The Consuls Cambacérès & Le Brun arrived and came to us, with some members of the council of State, all these approached uncovered.

I went to our chamber where Mrs. Murray was, and began to make the necessary alterations for signature in my copy of the Convention wh I had in my porte feuille, Mr. Talleyrand & Pichon came.

By half past 6 we were all assembled in Mr. E's room (to the right hand) and by seven finished our work, signed and sealed, and burnt the other signatures. In carrying my porte feuille to Mr. E's room, as it was not proper to usher it through so ceremonious a company I went round by the front through the court, wh I found brilliantly illuminated. The who[le] front of the building, the court, and the approaches, and an immense crowd. On returning the same way I found my young friend Ellsworth standing at the door, wh was guarded by two dragoons. He told me they would not let him in though he had shown his card

of hospitality, I observed to them that they had not known that he was attaché au l'ambassade des E. U., and we entered, by this time the Salon had at least 200 persons, many of the first artists, Theatrical and musical from the best Theatres were among them, as we had heard there wd be a play, Madlle. Constat, Devienne (so like Mrs. Bingham!!) Mezerai & Simon, Garat the singer, Rode & Kreutze, violins, Frederick the horn &c. &c. &c., at Half past seven we were asked to see the Salles à manger, the decorations &c. &c. Three large tents had been erected at the East end of the chateau towards the old chapel, ceilings of sky blue paper, walls perpendicular, trees about 5 or 6 inches diameter planted all along the sides, the back or wall part thickly laced with small branches w. fresh leaves, garlands, shields attached to the wall of foliage gilded and with emblems, or inscriptions, Festoons of couloured small lamps, Lusters hanging. They were then serving the dinner in these three large rooms or salles, The Tables very beautifully set off, names to each plate, Mr. Davie, Talleyrand, Mr. du Bazin and myself went through them all. These were approached from the Breakfast room through another large room at the end of wh was a Transparent painting, to the left into a new made alley of Foliage, orange trees, busts and Flowers in vases, that alley led to these 3 rooms 1. Salle d'Union (Hall of union) or of reconciliation, in large gold letters over the door, the next of Washington with his bust by Hudon at one end raised on a pedestal, the Third of Franklin w. his also.

vid post 2d page.

A, vid ante 5 pages.

Mrs. M. having occasion to pluck a rose as is usual with delicate women after a ride of 22 miles and a dish of tea asked Made. Fleurieu to show her the way, this was a point of negociation and delicacy, so Made. F. very gingerly spoke to her husband, negociator, membre of the council of State, and of the Institute and Board of Longitude, and then took her seat. Mr. Fleurieu spoke to another Minister, Ct. Musquez, Ambassador of Spain and the two gentlemen approached the two ladies to escort them on the expedition. Mrs. M. was surprised, but as Mr. F. was husband to Made. F., she presented her hand to Mr. F. & Made. F. gave hers to () and away they went in due ceremony. Mr. F. and his friend led the ladies up the grand Staircase, and passing through the long corridor arrived at Mrs. M's chamber where she had not been before. The ladies contested amicably the point of precedence, but as the occasion was urgent, that matter, through a negociator being present was soon settled. The ladies entered the chamber shut the door and the two gentlemen politely waited their return at the outside of the door in the corridor, received them when they returned and in the same order ushered them into the grand Salon.

After our return from a walk at 5, the Prefet of Beauvais informed Bonaparte that he wished to show him some golden Roman medals wh a poor peasant of Beauvais lately found in an urn, the terre cuit. He drew a handful of small medals of very pure gold and show'd them to B. who distributed them for observation, he gave me one a Trajan. I saw twenty others, Aurelius, Claudius Vespasian Faustina the daughter, none of the Augustan age, I returned mine to him, Gen'l Davie came up and he show'd them to him and then begged him to accept 7 or 8 [Note in margin. Gen'l Davie gave me two, one a Faustina. Mr. E. would not accept any.] desiring the Prefet to get all he could from the peasant and give some to the Spanish Ambassador and the Danish Minister, Dryer. The Prefet had at first remarked that many wd be lost as the poor man feared gov't wd seize on them. B. observed, no they belonged to the finder, it was a stroke of Fortune who gov'd things. The medals in all as gold were worth 6000 Livres ()

When B. spoke to La Fayette he called him citizen la F. and received him as he did others with affability.

At half past eight we were called to the Dinner, names on the napkins in each plate. Mrs. Murray was on Bonaparte's left right hand my colleagues next Made. Fleurieu who was on B's left (Mr. E.) and then a lady and then Gen'l D., my place was on Mr. J. B's right and on my right Made. Bonaparte, who changed seats and that gave me Mr. Cambacérès the 2d Consul on my right.

The Dinner was superb and pleasing gaily and richly ornamented. The Three large Salons were filled, 180, all at dinner at once.

After dinner we retired to the great Salon and took coffee. The intention was to have walked to a handsome Pavilion at the bottom of the lawn and to have taken our Caffè there, but it rained, after coffee we were invited up into the library to see the fire works on the Lawn and water. I was at a window with two ladies one of whom spoke to me in english and told me she had been educated in Engd., she was about 20 and very handsome. I found it was the celebrated beauty Miss Morge, now Made. du Bazin her husband a wealthy proprietor in the Isle de Bourbon, the sister of Mr. Morge, who was first named as the Secretary of the French negociation with us but who declined. The fire works were very beautiful, but did not accomplish the emblems of amity between U. S. and F., intended by the founder of this elegant Fête. The rain had spoiled some of the works, though then a clear sky. After the fire works we descended, and the concert began. Made. Mrs. Had had the place of honor all day, the right of the fire place, and great attention was shown her throughout. I had a seat near the P. Consul by accident. His brother Lucien and he were on a sophia behind Made. B. near the

orchestra. Before it began he spoke to some of the performers Garat & Frederic and seemed to speak scientifically about music. He shakes his foot, and seems always thinking with earnestness. He is about the height of Gen' Hamilton, hardly so tall, not large nor square but well made. His complexion a pale, tinged with an Italian and Egyptian hue, eyes a lively piercing grey, large and a good deal of white about them particularly when he laughs a little, and he laughs but little when at all. Then his eyes open in accord w. his smile & an under low heh! heh! showing his teeth also, by falling the under jaw. His nose aquiline head large and finely shaped, the lower part of his face like the bust of Junius Brutus wh I Remarked(?) two months since when Mrs. M. and I breakfasted w. Mr. & Made. Wespenon(?) No. 101 Place de Vendome, at the artist's statuary whose name I forget Mr. G. some one. His hair is black and well placed, short in his neck and neither combed on his forehead nor turned back but rumpled and standing different ways, he certainly looks best so, it gives more the air of his countenance. His voice is good, though not loud, his expression opposed to whatever is feeble and insipid in the virtuous affections when unattended by prompt energy, grave rather thoughtful, occasionally severe, not inflated nor egotistic, very exact in all his motions wh show at once an impatient heart and a methodical head, not the exactness of a special pleader, but of a most skilful self possest Fencing master. What he says has always extent and relation to important ideas in it, though little, it seems a peep you get into a porte Feuille of important matter, and though he does keep his secret, yet he speaks with a frankness so much above fear that you think he has no reserve. He is a pleasing man with the Soldier drawing into the politician. He never could have been a trifle in his life, an extraordinary man he is, and is too generous for the french enemies he has, generosity was Caesar's foible and his ruin. He found a Brutus after he had supposed that he had united friends and enemies for him by his manly kindness to them, both eras were too corrupt for any moral esteem, admiration was but the tribute one pays to a spectacle!

Garat sang, and I saw in him the prototype of the Incroyable in the little comedy rather musical opera of the Sabines (from the picture of David) Frederic's horn was as flexible as a ffoot and not too loud for any room 30 feet square. Garat's style of singing cannot last.

After the concert, then past one, Tickets were distributed for the comedy, and away we went up a narrow staircaise and through a pretty bed room in the *accessoires*, to a charming little theatre which was repaired, new curtains and dressed for the Fête, we were in the Consul's Loge. The Parterre and under the gallery must have been a Salon about 40 by 30 feet. The piece was and the farce(?) the *midnight hour*.

Devienne was charming in the Lisette, she is so like Mrs. Bingham that I felt doubly interested for her, father(?), the following couplets were sung after the end of the piece.

The performers and orchestra were of the very first of Paris, Gen'l D. and I clapped the songs, Mr. E. had retired after the concert. indisposed.

After the play we retired to bed at 3½!!

We breakfasted in our chamber where Hubert brought us our Tea & Coffee at half past eight.

At Ten Mrs. M. & I strolled with a french gentleman over the grounds, I asked him if the water were natural, he said it was artificial and the bed once dry for years, that at a great dinner many years since the company said it was a pity there was no water there. The owner sent off to Paris for pump men and engines and next morning it was full of water.

In the left of the grounds among the Trees was a machine that turned vertically, form of a cross with seats hung to axes that preserved the seat perpendicular, all turned by a man as you wd turn a grind stone.

The french love outdoor amusements, and must be always in motion, in all their actions there is a certain grace and air of enjoyment that inspires cheerfulness.

On returning I went to Mr. E's room (the evening before at eleven I went to see him, he was unwell. He seemed a good deal pleased with the Fête and wished that an acct of it might be published.

The Premier Consul was to receive us at Twelve, Mr. Roederer and Joseph Bonaparte soon joined Mr. E. Gen'l D. and myself in Mr. E's room, R. said speaking of the gravel wh Mr. E. has, that Bear berries are good, Uva Ursi, and Box leaves made into Tea. I told him I suspected that every sedentary man by 40 had the gravel. He sd most had, but he had been deceived by that idea. He thought he had it, urined w. pain and difficulty and every moment expected to see grains come from him. His Doctor assured him it was not, and told him it was blood pressing the parts in the region of the bladder and that a discharge of that blood wd ease him; to that end he must procure the piles, wh wd be done by injecting warm water (or cold I forget, more likely warm) He did so, procured piles and was relieved. We spoke of something that led me to use the word Luxe, and I asked him if it were the french for Luxuria. He sd yes, and then gave it the derivation from Lux & uro, equivalent to consuming, burning, destroying, destructive.

In talking of the Rev'on, He said it was in pursuit of your principles of Liberty that all this has happened, it began at court where a few young men made them fashionable, as La Fayette &c &c

At 12 we ascended to a large Salon where were Bonaparte and Talleyrand, and D'auteville as interpreter.

Mr. E. said

After Mr. E. & Gen'l D. took leave and departed for Havre, Mrs. M. Made. du Bazin and Mr., Gen'l La Fayette and I walked to the Lakes, Made. B. said Made. Fleurieu had written a novel lately called *Stella*. She spoke of La F. as a man to be pitied, and as one considered as weak. She spoke with great attachment of Eng'd where she had been 6 or 8 years since 12, Bristol &c &c She had an agreeable way of leaning on one's arm and is very handsome, we returned and set off for Ermenonville in Two carriages.

We took Made. du B. & La F. with us, La Forest and Mr. Du B. & Mr. Girardin, tribune and son of the owner of Ermenonville with Mr. Maret, Secretary of State, Two Leagues, a good deal of wood. The chateau white, regular and a stream of water on one side. The House of Rousseau on the right near the Chateau among the trees, a common house such as a french farmer Lodges in. We past on to the Lakes, a shower came on and we went into a Chinese Tower, on a raised ground. It was very damp, the view from this reminded of twenty views in Dorset, fishing creek, cambridge creek, [*Note in margin*. In returning to the chateau from the Tower I gave Made. du B. one of my medals] grounds low, in the vestibule was a nice Hammock, wh the rage of the beastly Jacobin villagers had spared, for the village near the chateau was all a thirst for the blood of the old respectable Mr. G. during Robespierre's gentle reign, though fed by the celebrity of the place wh drew travelers constantly, both to view the grounds and water works and woods, and because Rousseau lived there, died there and was bury'd in an island with poplars, where his tomb now stands. I had a snuff box in 82 or 83 I remember with *Le Tombeau de J. J. Rousseau* and the *Isle des Poupliers* on the lid. We visited the Isle and his Tomb, but the villagers by destroying the water works and everything ornamental had diverted the water courses, and the island of Poplars is now but a swell of Land of about an acre in a rank and weedy meadow or low ground. It is a common tomb of stone with allegorical figures on the sides, on one a woman giving suck to an infant. Had he done nothing said Mr. La Forest but introduce that custom for mothers to suckle their children it wd justly make him dear to France, on the winding little stream further on is a Temple of Philosophy a Dome Twelve feet diam'r, supported on two sides by pillars over the capitals of wh are written the names of some celebrated men, Locke, Newton, Descartes, Voltaire. The other space is left to be filled by others who may add to the list of Philosophers by their labours.

After being well dry'd and looking into R's room and on his

little pine table where they show'd us the blots of ink wh are left, for their he wrote his *confessions* we returned to Mortfontaine.

When we arrived we expected to have found but few. In the morning Made. B., the Premier, Joseph & a Duroc had gone a hunting, Made. had returned at 1 P. M. I thought that the Premier had gone to Paris, on entering the drawing room or great Salon we found 60 or 80. When we went to E. we left word that we shd return to take leave, supposing that they did not expect the world to dinner, we made an effort to go, as it was most nec'y for me to be in Paris, as Mr. M'Henry was to go in the Diligence at 4 in the morn'g to Havre to embark in the Portsmouth, a sister of Mr. J. Bonaparte engaged Mrs. M. to take a bouillon.

I spoke to Bonaparte who was sitting on the left of the fire place in a grey riding coat, he had not been long returned from the chase. He asked me to set down by him and La F. on my left. He told me they had taken a biche (a doe) I asked him how he bore the wet and fatigue, Ah, tres bien, je suis un militaire, et tres accoutumé à la fatigue et beaucoup d'exercice.

He spoke about the American govt & Constitution with an air of real inquiry wh convinced me he wished to know of what he was not well informed, Particularly about the expence of the President, manner of Living &c &c if he had guards, no, et bien, La police est bonne, nous n'avons ni guards ni police! The President has near () 1000£. (Engh.), and spends it handsomely, but no guards, justices of the Peace execute the subaltern offices of Justice and wh out police. I wished to reconcile him to the difference, you cannot draw any practice from the U. S., we are distant and yet strong in ourselves, no dangerous neighbours, our laws are more the birthright of the citizens to wh they are by nature accustomed than of their institution, we are naturally in that state of freedom, you have powerful nations agt whom you must keep up large armies. He asked are their citizens more rich and who spend more than the President, we have a great deal of Luxury in the U. S., there are a few who have a larger income than the President. What is the standing force, a few 4000 or 5000 men on the Frontier, the militia 7 or 800 000 men. It is a Europe without King, hereditary power and church establishment, far from Europe. I then mentioned our exports and tonnage in 91 and in 99, I told him the french Revolution had injured us, that it had set in motion a class of men têtes exaltés. He asked how we liked the 18 Brumaire, a strange question. I told him that my private letters said that it was rec'd as might be expected among a people part of whom had been gaté by the metaphysics of France. The friends of order and rational liberty rejoiced at it as bringing F. back to reason, the Jacobins ed not like it, as it concentrated the powers and gave a Senate for Life. He observed that

was natural. [*Note in margin.* vid a Letter, Leyden *Nouvelles Politiques* of July last, I think 18 or 15, from Philad'a to Amsterdam. I am sure almost, from his conversation, that he had read and thought of that Letter!] But in my opinion F. ed not do with a gov't less strong, (I spoke sincerely, and unless he wd give back his power to L. 18, I wish for the peace of the world he may keep it as long as he lives!)

I knew that La F. must wish to have an oppt'y of speaking to him and left them. L. F. I observed took my seat, and though we wanted to go, I ed not think of depriving him, and we staid till we were called to dinner. Pichon asked if that was Mrs. Murray opposite to the P. C., I said yes, he said he wished to make her a bow, but ed not pass the P. C., I asked why, he had not been presented to him! you not presented after your mission as chargé des aff's in Switzerland last winter?! no, that is strange, why do you not make Mr. T. introduce you, you ought to have been presented on your return, Mr. M. you cannot think of the strange situation of aff's, unless you are of a particular circle, the public men treat one with an astonishing distance, well but you ought to get some one.

From that moment I resolved to get P. presented, for I believe had it not been for P. we should not have brought the french ministers to several points until the spring. He helped us over several bars we, else, sh'd have thumped for months.

I told Gen'l D. of my intention, he said it was best to let these frenchmen manage each other. I thought differently.

At dinner B. was very disengaged. His Mameluc standing behind, with his turban, red jacket and blue sleeves and white trunk trowsers, and yellow face gave an oriental air to the feast, B. talked w. Mrs. M. and pretty made. du B., and gaily w. the little daughter of Lucien his brother, whom he handed into the dining room, at dinner the child talked freely, and he jocosely said something menacing, she said, very well, I have a friend who will defend me, and who is able to do it agt you, who is that, Lucien Bonaparte, minister of the Interior s'd the little girl. Do you not know that it is I who give orders to Lucien and that he must Obey! He always asserts himself.

The Mameluk sleeps across his chamber door and is an attached and intrepid fellow, a young man of 20, since a poor fellow entered B's room while he was a bed w. his wife at the Palace of the Thuilleries, the man walked in his sleep and entered B's room. B. seeing a man enter jumped out of bed and seized him by the throat, the poor fellow waked, and was very much frightened. After dinner I spoke to La Forest to present Pichon. He said he had spoken to T. who had presented him after dinner. They had not thought of these things, often I suspect the world gives them credit for more good and evil by design than is just.

After dinner, (Piranesi) who had set next me at dinner show'd me a sketch on paste board of Mortfontaine and the groups to designate the Convention, wh he sketched the day before, the back grounds and the back front. He took my address and is to send me a copy, it will be published.

Made. B. begged me to send her some seeds, flowers and birds from America, wh I promised, and asked for my address that she might correspond through me w. her mother at Guadeloupe of wh she is a native.

At half past eight we set out. Salicetti a Corsican (and formerly great jacobin) came up to La F., who recd him coldly. J. B. sd that is cit'n Salicetti.

Our wheel demanded repairs at about 2 leagues from Paris, this was 12, we saw the Consul and family dash by in a coach and six with the guards.

We were at the Grand Cerf, a whining sore-eyed landlady who quarreled with a young wagonner. Her daughter, while we warmed ourselves, was warming up some ragout wh she told Mrs. M. came from Mortfontaine, where had been a great Fête, and where there were 1000 people at dinner, she did not know on what acc't, but never since the Revolution was seen such a number of equipages. In fact the windows from three leagues out of Paris were all on the stare, and here and there chasseurs on the road side. La F. was sleeping in the coach. I went for him but he wd not drink the anis wh our old landlady begged us for the love of God to take as a preservative ag't the night air, All ready, I gave her half a crown, and she pressed me to remember the Grand Cerf of Vauland, we got home at two, Mac. waiting and very anxious as he was twenty Louis short, wh I lent to him. He parted at Four, I went with him to the place du corps Legislatif, he cry'd and sobbed all the way, I took an affectionate adieu of my worthy secretary who ever since he heard of his uncle's going out has been restless and anxious to return. So ended a brilliant and noble Fête to the envoys U. S.

A brief account of the fête in the *Gazette Nationale ou le Moniteur Universel* is added.

Gazette Nationale ou le Moniteur Universel Quartidi, 14 vendémiaire An 9 de la République Française, une et indivisible.

Intérieur, PARIS, le 13 vendémiaire.

Le citoyen Joseph Bonaparte, président de la commission des ministres plénipotentiaires chargés de negocier avec les envoyés extraordinaires, ministres plénipotentiaires des Etats-Unis, a donné le 11 à Morfontaine une fête très-brillante à ces ministres pour célébrer le retour de la bonne intelligence entre les deux états. L'intention du citoyen Bonaparte dans cette solennité a été de donner aux ministres américains un temoignage des dis-

positions du gouvernement envers les Etats-Unis, et de la satisfaction générale que produit le rapprochement qui vient enfin de s'opérer. Rien n'était plus propre que la composition et l'ordonnance de la fête à manifester aux américains ces sentimens. Tout y était disposé à leur intention, et les premières autorités de la république ont semblé n'y assister que comme spectatrices, et pour mettre le dernier sceau aux égards et aux attentions de tout genre dont eux et leur pays étaient l'objet.

Le premier consul s'était rendu à trois heures à Morfontaine avec sa famille. Les deux consuls, tous les ministres, les membres du corps diplomatique, plusieurs conseillers-d'état s'y trouvaient réunis avec les présidens du sénat, du corps-législatif et du tribunal, et différentes personnes employées autrefois aux Etats-Unis sous divers titres, et parmi lesquelles on a remarqué le général Lafayette.

A six heures le ministre des relations extérieures a remis au premier consul la convention signée le 9 entre les ministres français et ministres américains; et cette remise a été annoncée par une salve d'artillerie.

Le dîner a été servi sur trois tables formant 180 couverts, dans trois salles qui communiquaient les unes avec les autres. La première était la *salle de l'union*; la seconde et la troisième, qui portaient les noms de Washington et de Franklin, étaient ornées des bustes de ces grands hommes; leurs noms étaient écrits sur des écussons soutenus par les drapeaux réunis des deux nations. Ces trois salles, et surtout la première, étaient tapissées de feuillage, élégamment décorées de draperies, et illuminées en verres de différentes couleurs. Mais ce qui en formait le plus bel ornement, c'étaient les emblèmes qui rapprochaient de l'époque récente de la réconciliation des événemens passés dont les deux nations ont en quelque sorte partagé la gloire. C'était surtout la *salle de l'union* qui offrait ce genre de décorations touchantes. Dans un premier écusson, on voyait un aigle, et *Lexington*; dans un second, 4 juillet 1776, *indépendance américaine: Hancock*; dans un troisième le chiffre *F. A.*, et *Warren*; dans un quatrième, *Au 9 vendémiaire an 9* (date de la signature du traité); le cinquième portait, *F. A.*, *Putnam*; le sixième, *Ville fédérale: Trenton*; le septième, *Au 17 octobre 1777, Saratoga: Gates*; le huitième, *9 octobre 1781, Yorck-Town*; le neuvième, les côtes de France et d'Amérique, séparées par la mer, un vaisseau quittant le Havre, et cinglant vers Philadelphie, et le nom de Green; le dixième, enfin, présentait un vaisseau français et un vaisseau américain naviguant de conserve.

A la fin du dîner il a été porté différens toasts. Le premier, porté par le premier consul, a été: "Aux mânes des français et des américains morts sur le champ de bataille pour l'indépendance du nouveau monde."

Le consul Cambacérès: "Au successeur de Washington."

Le consul Lebrun: "A l'union de l'Amérique avec les puissances du nord, pour faire respecter la liberté des mers."

Immédiatement après le dîner, on a tiré un feu d'artifice sur la rivière en face du château. Le feu et ses pièces diverses représentaient l'union de la France et des États-Unis; et au moment de l'explosion, de petits bâtimens avec pavillon américains sont partis à la lueur des artifices qui éclairaient les allégories, et ont fait voile entre les bords illuminés de la rivière vers un obélisque, où la France et les États-Unis se juraient une éternelle alliance.

Après le feu d'artifice, un concert a été exécuté par les artistes les plus distingués de la capitale.

Au concert succéda le spectacle. On a joué pour 1^{ère} pièce, *les Jeux de l'Amour et du Hasard*, et pour seconde, *Minuit*. *Les Jeux de l'Amour et du Hasard* ont été joués par Fleury, Dazincourt, Caumont, mesdemoiselles Contat, Devienne et Lachassaigne avec une perfection et un ensemble au-dessus de toute expression. Mademoiselle Contat, surtout, a étonné les personnes les plus habituées aux prodiges de son art. Dans la seconde mademoiselle Mezerai a joué avec infiniment de grâce. Les américains auront pu remporter, par ce seul spectacle, une idée complète de notre comédie. Au vaudeville *des Jeux de l'Amour et du Hasard*, les citoyens Despréaux et Barré avaient substitué presque impromptu des couplets ingénieux analogues à la circonstance.

Le 12, à midi, les ministres américains ont pris congé du 1^{er} consul à qui ils ont été présentés par le ministre des relations extérieures. Mr. Ellsworth, au nom de ses collègues, a dit "qu' il espérait que la convention signée le 9, serait la base d'une amitié durable entre la France et l'Amérique." M. Murray a ajouté "que les ministres américains n'omettraient rien pour concourir à ce but." Le 1^{er} consul a répondu "que les différends qui avaient existés étant terminés, il n'en devait pas plus rester de trace que de démêlés de famille; que les principes libéraux consacrés dans la convention du 9 vendémiaire sur l'article de la navigation, devaient être la base du rapprochement des deux nations, comme ils l'étaient de leurs intérêts; et qu' il devenait, dans les circonstances présentes, plus important que jamais pour les deux nations d'y adhérer."

Deux des ministres américains, MM. Ellsworth et Davie, sont partis à une heure pour le Havre. M. Murray est resté avec son épouse. Plusieurs personnes l'ont accompagné le soir à Ermenonville, séjour que révère la jeunesse passionnée, et que les amis de la liberté visitent toujours avec un intérêt mêlé d'une sorte de vénération.

Nat'l Intelligencer, Wed. Dec. 17, 1800.

"PARIS, 15 Vendémiaire, 8th Oct.

"While the first Consul was at Morfontaine, at the entertain-

ment given by Joseph Buonaparte to the American Plenipotentiaries, citizen Cambry, Prefet of the department of Oise, presented him several golden medals, which had been lately found by country people in his department. They were concealed in an earthen vessel, large enough to contain 600,000 livres worth, were perfectly well preserved, and of various epochs, some of them dated from an early period of the Roman Empire, others during the time of the republic.

"The Prefet observed to the Consul that it was difficult to procure these medals, because the people who found them, were fearful lest they might be taken from them, as according to the ancient laws of France, all treasures found in this way belonged by right to the government. At present, replied the first Consul Buonaparte, government will not contest the good fortune of a citizen. Besides, it is necessary to use every precaution, to prevent these medals being melted down into bullion by the country people, buy up then, as many of them as you can, probably, added he, after a moment's silence, it will be easy for you to procure more. I hope it will general, answered the prefet. On this reply the First Consul advanced toward Mr. Davie, one of the American ministers and said to him. 'These Roman medals, Sir, have just been found in France, accept and carry them with you to America, so that the monuments of the Roman Republic may become pledges of amity and union between the Republics of France and the United States.'"

The account of the fête given in the *Journal des Débats* of 15 vendémiaire is the same as that of the *Gazette Nationale*, with this addition.

"Au vaudeville des Jeux de l'Amour et du Hasard, les citoyens Despréaux et Barré avaient substitué presque'impromptu des couplets analogues à la circonstances. Les voici :

Air: Femmes, voulez-vous éprouver?

I^{er} Couplet, chanté par Dazincour.

Aux jeux d'amour et du hasard,
En France comme en Amérique,
La fortune a plus d'un écart,
Le gain est souvent chimérique ;
Mais d'amitié le doux lien,
En tous tems, en tous lieux se fonde ;
De vrais amis s'entendent bien,
Sans habiter le même Monde.

II^e Couplet, mademoiselle Devienne.

Par un ouvrage assez vanté,
Du savant et doux Fontenelle,
Des Mondes la pluralité
Fut une vérité nouvelle.
Laissons raisonner sa gaité
Sur ces découvertes profondes :
Nous servons mieux l'humanité,
En faisant la paix des deux Mondes.

III^e et dernier Couplet, mademoiselle Contat.

Grâce à la consolante paix,
Source de toute jouissance,
Unique objet de leurs souhaits,
Pussions-nous ;—j'en ai l'espérance,
Partout ne rencontrant qu' amis
A qui notre âme corresponde,
Ne voir que des Etats-Unis,
En courant l'un et l'autre Monde.

These verses, together with the names of the play and the farce given in the *Moniteur*, supply the lacunæ in Murray's narrative.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

BY AUTHORITY of the Commonwealth, the County Commissioners of the County of Worcester are soon to expend about three hundred thousand dollars on the Court Hill property which adjoins this Society's land upon the south. According to the accepted plan more than one-third of the present open space-way between the old Court House and Antiquarian Hall will be covered, and we shall thereby lose both light and air. An increase of light might perhaps be secured by the whitening of our inner walls and ceilings and by painting the woodwork in as light a color as possible. Fifty years ago—on March 29, 1848, five years before the present hall was occupied—it was by the Council voted "That the Librarian be authorized to have his room papered and whitewashed." Fifty years hence the new housing of our treasures will have been completed by our successors. We have sufficient space for the present but must soon face the requirements of the future. Our attic hall may be turned into a stack room and a second gallery with a third tier of shelving may be placed in the main hall, but it is not easy to see where further extensions can be made.

Local interest in historical studies, and more particularly in colonial literature, has been quickened the past winter by the formation of adult classes in Worcester under competent teachers. At the close of the term it was our privilege to receive instructor and pupils at the library, and to exhibit many of the original authorities to which reference had been made. The advantages of rendering such service have already proved reciprocal.

In the librarian's report of last April reference was made to the first Maine imprint. Further light obtained by our associate, Hon. Joseph Williamson, in the preparation of his monumental work on the Bibliography of Maine, indicates that "the first Maine book was printed in 1786." See letter of 22 October, 1897, from H. Winslow Bryant, Librarian of the Maine Historical Society, in our library file.

The Ellis book-plate is now ready for books purchased and to be purchased with the Ellis Fund. Its design is simple but effective. In its centre, within a shield, appears Vinton's three-quarter length, sitting portrait, while slightly overlapping the upper portion of the shield is the Society's seal with the date of incorporation—1812—upon one of the temple steps. Above this, in antique type, in a graceful, curved line, is American Antiquarian Society. Upon a triple scroll below the shield appears the legend, Rev. Geo. E. Ellis, D.D. Born Aug. 8, 1814. Died Dec. 20, 1894; and beneath, From the George E. Ellis Fund.

The Committee of Publication has also procured a new book-plate for general use. The design is the dated seal of the time-honored Society in the midst of a very thrifty growth of young branches. In a straight line above, appears American Antiquarian Society, and in two lines below, The Gift of, with spaces for name, place and date. The whole suggests both age and activity.

Since the last report, gifts have been received from three hundred and twenty-three sources, namely, from thirty-six members, one hundred and forty-three persons not members, and one hundred and forty-four societies and institutions. We acknowledge from these sources seven hundred and seventeen books, forty-four hundred and eighty-four pamphlets, two bound and one hundred and seventy-four unbound volumes of newspapers, five bound and ninety-one unbound manuscripts, sixteen photographs, seven

broad-sides, six maps, three book-plates, one badge and one desk; by exchange eighty-six books and forty-three pamphlets; and from the bindery thirty-eight volumes of magazines; making the total accessions for six months, eight hundred and forty-one books; forty-five hundred and twenty-seven pamphlets; two bound and one hundred and seventy-four unbound volumes of newspapers, *etc.*

The recent purchases by the Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund have been of works relating to South rather than to Central America. In general, during the thirty years' existence of this invaluable fund, we have preferred to cover "that portion of North America lying south of the United States" as required by the original letter of gift. The privilege of extending our southern limit to Cape Horn was given at the request of your present librarian. Its wisdom was emphasized when our Venezuelan material was used for the benefit of the late Arbitration Commission. The show-cases in the main hall were placed the same year that the Davis Alcove was established. Attention was effectually called to the new Spanish American department by exhibiting therein some of its rarities, and gifts to it were thereby suggested.

Vice-President Hoar, referring to his gifts of Banker's Weekly Circulars and kindred material, truly says: "they give an account of the markets, of stocks and of future prospects for investors, and are thus among the best possible material for future investigators of our financial history." Senator Hoar, like his distinguished predecessor Charles Sumner, has always carefully preserved for us the mass of pamphlet, periodical and circular literature which finds its way to the senatorial desk and thence usually to the waste-basket. Even the most common of such ephemeral publications, when chronologically arranged, exhibits in a marked degree the spirit of the times. I need not specify the recent gifts of our associate, Dr. Joseph F. Loubat, as they are acknowledged in detail in

the list of givers and gifts. They are of the same high order as those heretofore received. In this connection, however, we congratulate both receiver and giver on the establishing of "The Gaillard-Loubat Library Endowment Fund" of Columbia University. Referring to this gift of productive property valued at more than a million dollars, the chairman of the University Board of Trustees says: "the Loubat donation, with the million dollars given by President Low to construct the present library building as a memorial to Mr. Low's father, will place the library on an independent basis forever." The gifts of our associate, the Hon. Thomas L. Nelson, continued through nearly twenty years. While he was well known as the able lawyer and the upright judge, he had also some of the best qualities of the best librarian. As a member of the Board of the Worcester County Law Library Association he sought far and near, material with which to enrich their fine collection of Massachusetts journals, laws and resolves. His latest gifts to us were in this direction. His friends, the Rev. Dr. Lucius R. Paige, Hon. Charles Devens and your librarian, entered the Society with him in October, 1878. By Mr. Nathaniel Paine's recent use of his camera in our behalf, we have been reminded of photography as a bibliographical as well as an historical aid.

Mrs. J. Hammond Trumbull has sent us Dr. Trumbull's manuscript dictionary to Eliot's Indian Bible, in four volumes, quarto, and his interleaved copy of our List of Ante-Revolutionary Publications. They are practically the gift of our late distinguished associate. It is quite probable that his determination to place his dictionary here was made as early as October, 1873, when he read his paper upon "The Origin and Early Progress of Indian Missions in New England." When wisely asked by President Salisbury if the glossary of words used by Eliot in his Indian Bible was ready for the press, he replied, "it is ready." The precious gift of the Indian material was

accompanied by the following: "To the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Massachusetts, as a testimonial to the high esteem in which the members of this Society were held by the author, and in accordance with the wishes of the late James Hammond Trumbull these volumes are respectfully transmitted by Mrs. Sarah F. Trumbull, Hartford, Connecticut, November 15th, 1897." In the interleaved copy of our list of Pre-Revolutionary publications—which contains his copious notes—appears in ink "Presented to The American Antiquarian Society by J. H. Trumbull," while in parenthesis below he has thoughtfully written in pencil "post mortem." It is therein evident that he gave us the benefit of his ample knowledge of early American imprints, up to the last of his working days, and we are grateful accordingly.

The Rev. Francis G. Burgess has sent from Florence a cut—with a description of it—of a recently discovered fresco in All Saints Church of that city. In the letter of gift he writes: "Vassari, the old art historian, speaks of such a fresco, but for three centuries all traces of it had been lost. It is called '*La Madonna Della Misericordia*.' It was found on the wall behind a large framed painting, above one of the side altars of the nave. It presents Amerigo Vespucci with some of his relatives, this altar having belonged to the Vespucci family. A. V. is the round faced, black haired, young fellow next to the Virgin, under her right arm. The painter was the famous Domenico Ghirlandajo. He and A. V. were each a little over eighteen years old at the time. In this old *piazza* [*Santa Maria Novella*] Florence held her fête to welcome A. V. home again from his voyage across the Atlantic. And this spring Florence is to have a combined celebration of the anniversaries of that event and of the martyrdom of Savonarola."

Accompanying a gift from Houghton, Mifflin and Company is a letter containing the following paragraph:

"We take pleasure in sending you, with our compliments, a copy of the new illustrated edition of Dr. Fiske's *Critical Period of American History*. We appreciate your courtesy and assistance in securing a number of the illustrations." Mr. Waldo Lincoln presents his "*Four Generations of the Waldo Family in America*," endorsed "with thanks for many courtesies."

Mrs. Eliza W. Lippitt of Washington, D. C., has presented manuscripts chiefly relating to the life and labors of Rev. Dr. Samuel Gilman of Charleston, S. C. Dr. Gilman was graduated at Harvard University in 1811. The following scrap in his handwriting suggests some of the "college requirements" of the first decade of the nineteenth century.

NECESSAIRE.

<i>Stationary.</i>	<i>Dressing.</i>	<i>Conveniences.</i>
Bunch quills	Comb	Tooth pick
Penknife	Hair-brush	Dust brush
2 Qrs Paper	Clothes brush	Needle & thread
Book knife	Razors	Scissors
Sealing-wax	Shave box	Screw-driver
Box wafers	Shoe brushes	Hone
Seal	Shaving dipper	Bootjack
Ink-stand	Pomatum	Waste-paper
Lead pencil	Pins	Twine
Rule	Sponge	Ink-jug
	Soap	Decanters
	Tumbler	Wine-glasses
	Toothbrushes	Knife & fork
	Toothpowder	Plates
		Towels
		Tinder-box & matches
		Candle & sticks
		Baize brush

Mr. Henry F. Stedman has added to our Mather collection Increase Mather's "*Meditations on the Glory of the Heavenly World*," which consists of three sermons continuously paged. The preface contains the following quaintly expressed historical paragraph: "These Sermons were Pluckt out of the Burning; when Seven Book-sellers

Shops in Boston were Consumed in those Flames which on the Second of this Instant *October*, made a dismal Desolation in the Midst of this Great Town."

The following letter relates to the gift which accompanied it:

SOMERVILLE, N. J., *Dec. 1, 1897.*

EDMUND MILLS BARTON, Esq.

Dear Sir:—I have this day sent to the American Antiquarian Society a photograph of the house occupied by Washington as a headquarters from about December 1st to June 1st, 1778–1779 (with the exception of the time he was in Philadelphia), together with a pamphlet showing proceedings of the Revolutionary Memorial Society of New Jersey at various meetings, and affidavits, statements, extracts, &c., proving the authenticity of its occupation. You may remember that in September last (on 15th, 16th and 17th), I was in the library endeavoring to find in the files of the newspapers of 1778–1779, some mention of the house being occupied by Washington. I failed to find it, through the files of *Rivington's Royal Gazette*, which was published at New York during the war, being incomplete for that period.

One of our trustees, Mr. James J. Bergen, found in the library of the New York Historical Society a file of that paper, and in its issue of December 19th, 1778, found an item which gave the house as the headquarters of Washington. The extract is printed on page 33 of the pamphlet issued by the Revolutionary Memorial Society of New Jersey, which I send you with the photograph of the house. The property was owned by the Wallaces, then by the Millers (and they owned it up to within ten or fifteen years ago, I think), then by the Meehans, then Coopers, and now by the Revolutionary Memorial Society of New Jersey. Some of the affidavits speak of the house as the Wallace house and others speak of it as the Miller house. It is the same place, some of the people only knowing, or thinking of it, as belonging to the Millers.

The finding of the item of news in reference to the use of the house by Washington, satisfied those few who thought there should be documentary proof of it that Washington had lived there. We have quite a number of interesting historical articles together with some furniture of the period. We expect to have more furniture next year, and when the house is properly fitted up it will be a very interesting place.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM H. TAYLOR.

Mrs. Justin Winsor has presented, with Dr. Francis G. Peabody's memorial address, a copy of her husband's last work: "The Westward Movement, the Colonies and the Republic West of the Alleghanies, 1763-1798." It is happily dedicated to an eminent English librarian who has shown great kindness to his American brethren; namely, "To Sir Henry W. Dyke Acland, Bart., at Great Malvern, Worcestershire, August 8, 1897." I couple with this an early English tribute to the work of the lad of eighteen who later became one of America's distinguished librarians. In calling attention to the recently printed History of Duxbury, Massachusetts, the Rev. Joseph Hunter in his "Founders of New Plymouth" says: "This work of Mr. Winsor is a remarkable proof of the fondness of the people of New England for genealogical research. Our English books of topography are sometimes censured for the minuteness of their detail and for being overloaded with genealogical matter. But we have no book which can compare in these respects with the History of Duxbury, and future generations will most certainly estimate as they deserve the labour and research of its author."

We have received from the Lowell City Library, volume V. of the publications of The Old Residents' Association of Lowell. The concluding article therein is by Mr. Zina E. Stone, for many years its Secretary, upon the Origin and History of the Association for twenty-five years, to the end of the year 1893. Special attention is called to this association, which is thought to be unique in its character and history as well as in its name. Mr. Stone's closing suggestions are both pertinent and practical. He says: "The good work which this association has accomplished in twenty-five years, one may hope, is to be followed by vastly more, of wider scope and higher purpose. Is there not in this organization the germ of an historical society in Lowell which shall eventually have ownership in a substantial edifice bearing its name, with halls for its meetings

and for public use, apartments for its library, and ample room for its historic, literary and art accumulations, and which shall likewise be an honor and an ornament to our fair city? So grand a thing may not be consummated in the life time of any inhabitant of Lowell today for life is short and time is fleeting; but may it not be among the probabilities now foreshadowed?"

We acknowledge the publications of the New York Public Library and extend our congratulations upon the prospective library home as well as upon the simple but suggestive name which it is to bear. New York is now in line with Boston, Chicago and other leading cities and towns which discard The Free Library, Free Public Library, Public (Free) Library and Town Library, for the shorter yet more inclusive form of Public Library. We speak of public parks, public woods, public baths, *etc.*, as well as of public libraries, all which are free, but under certain very real restrictions. This subject, which was treated in your librarian's report of October, 1886, is one in which our national membership has shown a helpful interest.

An appeal is made to fellow-librarians to unite in an earnest effort to check the close trimming of books, and more particularly of newspapers, at the bindery. There is no longer the war-time inducement of high values in paper stock. Societies which attempt to preserve the details of American history should allow no removal of covers or advertisements. Our experience suggests that it is hardly possible to be too inclusive in such a matter, though the disposition to select is most natural. Even our careful founder, who was both binder and printer, stripped the covers from his own copy of the *Worcester Weekly Magazine*, which was the octavo substitute for his *Massachusetts Spy*, March, 1786, to April, 1788, while advertisements were taxed. Some of these covers have been secured and inserted in our four volumes. They contain lists of "Letters remaining in the Post Office at Worces-

ter," and other eighteenth-century items of marked historical interest.

An urgent request to the printer as well as to the binder is quite in order. Not only is the year omitted from many ephemeral publications—though the day of the week and of the month be carefully given—but in many town documents the name of the State is frequently not to be found either on title-page or by internal evidence. A glance at the *United States Postal Guide* will show the rapidly increasing number of towns of the same name, and will farther suggest the importance of more light for the modern indexer.

I suggest not only to librarians but to other careful but sometimes weary examiners of book-sale catalogues, an occasional study of their humorous side. The following paragraphs are from a European catalogue which lies upon my desk as I write: "From the annexed lists of works reduced in price a greater quantity is *gratuitously* to your disposal. When ordering, please state precisely, which number you wish of each division, respectively science."

The domestic correspondence of a society like our own is a many-sided study, in which there is an occasional bit of humor. A recent letter from afar, which cannot possibly be answered to the entire satisfaction of the writer, contains the following paragraph: "Now if you would kindly inform me where I can write James Savage I may obtain all the information necessary, as he has revised John Winthrop's History of New England concerning daily events in Massachusetts." Savage, as we know, was born on July 13, 1784, was graduated at Harvard in 1803, and died on March 3, 1873, in his eighty-ninth year.

In Mr. Nathaniel Paine's list of the publications of the Society—issued with Mr. Stephen Salisbury, Jr.'s., Partial Index to the first series of the Proceedings of the Society, number 13 is a "Circular Letter to Governors of the States, asking for State Documents for the Library, 1838."

It bears no name and no date—though ordered in 1838 and doubtless addressed and signed by the Recording Secretary—is printed on a large quarto page, and as the edition was probably limited to about the number of State and territorial governments of the time, it has long been out of print. As it is to be found in but few sets of the Society's publications it might well be reprinted in a small edition. It is also thought best, after sixty years, to embody the matter in the present report for wider preservation as well as for general information :

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF

"The Council of the American Antiquarian Society deem no apology necessary while inviting the attention of individuals or public authorities to an object of such common interest and utility as the collection and preservation of materials for the future histories of our country. The Acts and Journals of Legislative bodies, together with the Reports and Statistical papers published under their direct sanction, constitute, of course, the most authentic source of historical information. It is therefore of special importance, that a complete and perfect series of these documents, should be lodged in some permanent and secure place of deposit, where, in connection with other works equally necessary to the historian, they may be kept in a condition for ready and convenient consultation. To provide such a place, and to gather into it the fleeting memorials of past and present times, is the purpose for which The American Antiquarian Society was instituted. This establishment is *National* in its design, and was formed upon the most liberal and comprehensive principles. It is composed of persons of character and reputation scattered over every portion of our land ; and such members and correspondents have been selected in other countries as are best able, and most likely, to take an active interest in the promotion of its objects. To facilitate its operations, an Act of Incorporation was obtained from the Legislature of Massachusetts in 1812. Since that period, by the liberality of a private individual, (the late Isaiah Thomas,) a commodious

and substantial brick edifice, secured by its position, and the mode of construction, from the dangers of fire has been erected in the town of Worcester, and presented to the Society. A large collection of valuable books and manuscripts, was contributed by the same hand, and at his decease, in 1831, he bequeathed a respectable fund for the support of a stated Librarian, and for the incidental expenses necessarily connected with the charge of a public and constantly increasing library.

"Thus this Institution, besides being the only one in America established on so broad a basis, is already placed upon a foundation that must secure its permanence and utility.

"The Library now contains more than twelve thousand volumes, many of them of great rarity and value. There is also a Cabinet of interesting and curious relics, illustrating the arts, the habits and customs of the aborigines, and of our own ancestors. As it is a rule, that no book shall be carried from the building, the historical inquirer may be sure to find on the spot, and ready for examination, every volume named in the catalogue. In other respects, the Library is in the fullest sense, at all times, open to the public, with every convenience provided for prolonged research or incidental observation.

"The funds of the Society being chiefly appropriated to specific purposes, the general growth of the Library is dependent, first upon the exertions of the Librarian in procuring by gift, or exchange for duplicate volumes in the Society's collections, such productions as are embraced in the design of the Institution—and, secondly upon the liberal donations which authors and public bodies are disposed to make of their publications. The additions from these sources have hitherto been of the most gratifying character, both as to number and worth, and it is believed they will continue to increase, as the object of the association becomes better understood, and its reputation more extended. In the year 1814 the Congress of the United States passed a resolution directing that a copy of the public Journals of the Senate and House of Representatives, and of the Documents published under the orders of the Senate and House of Representatives, respectively, be transmitted to the Executive of the Commonwealth of

Massachusetts for the use and benefit of the American Antiquarian Society. This example has since been followed to a greater or less extent by individual States, though the intended gifts have not in all cases as yet been received. The Government of Great Britain, has also presented a set of the numerous volumes printed under the direction of His Majesty's Commission on the public records.

"Encouraged by these facts, and anxious that such important collections should lose none of their value by remaining incomplete, the Council of the Society venture to suggest whether a copy of *all* the publications authorized and promoted by legislative acts, including Judicial decisions, might not, consistently with the design of general utility in which they originate, be committed to their keeping. Hitherto many of the grants have been less extensive than was probably intended by the States themselves. Some, omitting the past, relate only to the present and future, and all, excepting that of Massachusetts, admit of a limited construction.¹ It is very desirable that the collection should be so perfect as to constitute an entire history of legislation and of judicial progress in our country. Topographical, Agricultural, Geological and other Surveys, and also Plans and Maps, are, not less than other public operations, landmarks in the course of history which it is important to have brought together and preserved in their appropriate place.

"It is respectfully requested, that the subject may, at a proper time, be laid before the Legislature of the State over which you preside, and that information of the result may be communicated to the Society."

In closing I venture to make my own, three paragraphs from a circular issued on December 15th, 1862, by our

¹ The Act of the Legislature of Massachusetts, passed Feb. 27, 1815, is as follows:

"COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

"*Ordered*, That the Secretary of the Commonwealth, and the clerks of the Senate and the House of Representatives, respectively, be authorized and directed to furnish the President of the American Antiquarian Society, or his order, for the use and benefit of said Society, with two copies of each and all the publications, whether the same be bound or unbound, the property of this Commonwealth, which they may now have, or which they may hereafter have, or which may be made henceforth by each branch of the Legislature; provided a sufficient number be reserved in all such cases for the use of the government."

late associate, Dr. William Frederick Poole, then librarian of the Boston Athenæum. I need hardly remind you that he showed the same inclusive spirit whether collecting for the Athenæum, the Cincinnati Public Library, the Chicago Public Library or the Newberry Library. Dr. Poole said, in part: "The Librarian informs the Proprietors and friends of the Athenæum that donations of miscellaneous pamphlets and tracts will be very acceptable at this time, when in consequence of the small supply of paper stock, families are solicited to dispose of their pamphlets for the paper-mills. Unless preserved in public libraries, many of the publications of the day will not be found when they are needed to illustrate the history of the times. It has been the policy of the Athenæum from its foundation, to collect and preserve a copy of *every* pamphlet and tract printed: and its collection (now systematically arranged and accessible) is one of the largest and most valuable in the country. It is desirable to increase it, and particularly to obtain every document that shall show to posterity 'the very age and body of the time.' To this end no publication is unimportant." I will only add that it has also been the policy of *this* venerable, national society to gather freely the literature of the past and of the present, leaving to posterity the responsibility of keeping, pruning, distributing, exchanging or destroying what it has been our glad mission to collect.

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,

Librarian.

Gibers and Gifts.

FROM MEMBERS.

- BARTON, EDMUND M., Worcester.—Eighteen numbers of magazines; and two photographs.
- BUTLER, JAMES D., LL.D., Madison, Wis.—His "Account of the birthday of Madison, Wisconsin"; and one newspaper.
- CHASE, CHARLES A., Worcester.—Twenty-two pamphlets.
- DAVIS, ANDREW MCF., Cambridge.—"Money the Sinews of Trade," an 1880 reprint of the rare original of 1731.
- DAVIS, HON. EDWARD L., Worcester.—Eight books; one hundred and forty-seven pamphlets; and one photograph.
- DAVIS, HON. HORACE, San Francisco, Cal.—His "Political Status of California as determined by Election Statistics."
- DEXTER, FRANKLIN B., New Haven, Conn.—"Record of Births, Marriages and Deaths in Sharon, Conn."
- EAMES, WILBERFORCE, New York.—Twenty-one pamphlets relating to the Lenox Library.
- GAGE, THOMAS H., M.D., Worcester.—Eight books; and thirty pamphlets.
- GILMAN, DANIEL C., LL.D., Baltimore, Md.—Three of his own productions.
- GREEN, HON. ANDREW H., New York.—Gibbon's "A Political Crime. The History of the Great Fraud."
- GREEN, HON. SAMUEL A., Boston.—Three of his own publications; eight books; three hundred and six pamphlets; sixteen manuscript sermons; one map; one proclamation; and the "American Journal of Numismatics," as issued.
- GREENE, J. EVARTS, Worcester.—A Fifteenth Massachusetts Regiment Association badge.
- HALE, REV. EDWARD E., D.D., Roxbury.—United States Weather Bureau Maps, in continuation.
- HOADLY, CHARLES J., LL.D., Hartford, Conn.—Two proclamations.
- HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENTWORTH, LL.D., Cambridge. — His "Cheerful Yesterdays."
- HOAR, HON. GEORGE F., Worcester.—His "Tribute to Gen. Francis A. Walker"; fifteen books; six hundred and thirty-one pamphlets; ten files of newspapers in continuation; and one photograph.

LEÓN, DR. NICOLAS, Guadalupe, Mexico.—Two of his own publications; and one pamphlet.

LOUBAT, JOSEPH F., LL.D., New York.—Donoil's "Histoire de la Participation de la France à l'Établissement des États-Unis D'Amérique," five vols., small folio, Paris, 1886-1892; "Raccolta di Documenti e Studi pubblicate della R. Commissione Colombiana." Vol. 1, Parts 1-6. Vol. 2, Parts 1-5. Vol. 3, Parts 1, 2, 5. Small folio, Rome, 1892; "Le Duc de Loubat, 1831-1894"; and Hamy's "Galerie Américaine du Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro." Part 2.

MERRIMAN, REV. DANIEL, D.D., Worcester.—Four books; three hundred and three pamphlets; and "The Nation," in continuation.

PAINE, NATHANIEL, Worcester.—His "Biographical Sketch of Benson John Lossing, LL.D."; his "List of Early American Broad-sides," illustrated; two hundred and thirty-one pamphlets; three files of newspapers in continuation; and four photographs.

PEET, STEPHEN D., Ph.D., Good Hope, Ill.—His "American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal," as issued.

PERRY, RT. REV. WILLIAM STEVENS, D.C.L., Davenport, Iowa.—Seven of his publications; three pamphlets; and one broadside.

PORTER, REV. EDWARD G., Dorchester.—His "Cabot Celebrations, 1497-1897"; and three pamphlets.

PUTNAM, FREDERIC W., S.D., Cambridge.—His "Report for 1896-7 of The Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology."

SALISBURY, HON. STEPHEN, Worcester.—Twenty books; five hundred and fifty-two pamphlets; fifteen files of newspapers, in continuation; and one proclamation.

SMITH, CHARLES C., Boston.—His "Memoir of John Amory Lowell, LL.D."; and his report of 1898 as Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

SMYTH, REV. EGBERT C., D.D., Andover.—His "Jonathan Edwards's Idealism."

THWAITES, REUBEN G., Madison, Wis.—His "History of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; and Description of its new library building."

UPHAM, HENRY P., St. Paul, Minn.—"Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," Vols. IX.-XVIII., in continuation.

WHITNEY, JAMES L., Cambridge.—Catalogue of Oriental books in the Astor Library; and seven selected pamphlets.

WRIGHT, HON. CARROLL D., Washington, D. C.—His report as Superintendent of the Department of Labor; and the "Labor Bulletin," as issued.

FROM PERSONS NOT MEMBERS.

ABBOT, WILLIAM F., Worcester.—Ten college pamphlets.

AIKEN, HENRY M., Worcester.—Four volumes of early music.

- ALDRICH, MRS. P. EMORY, Worcester.—Two books; ten pamphlets; and "The Boston Daily Advertiser," in continuation.
- APPLETON AND COMPANY, DANIEL, New York.—Their "Monthly Bulletin."
- AUSTIN, JOHN O., Providence, R. I.—His "Roger Williams's Calendar," 1897.
- AVERY, ELROY, Cleveland, O.—His "Avery Notes and Queries."
- BAILEY, ISAAC H., *Editor*, New York.—"The Shoe and Leather Reporter," as issued.
- BALCH, EDWIN S., Philadelphia, Pa.—"Letters and Papers relating chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania."
- BALL, CASSIUS, Block Island, R. I.—"Edward Ball and some of his Descendants."
- BARRETT, FRANCIS T., Glasgow, Scotland.—His "Brief Notices of Glasgow and its libraries."
- BARTON, E. BLAKE, *President*, Worcester.—Harvard Y. M. C. A. Hand-Book, 1897-98; and two photographs.
- BARTON, MISS LYDIA M., Worcester.—"The Association Record," in continuation.
- BATES, HON. THEODORE C., Worcester.—One book; and eighty pamphlets.
- BOSTON BOOK COMPANY.—"The Bulletin of Bibliography," as issued.
- BROOKS, REV. WILLIAM H., D.D., *Secretary*, Boston.—One pamphlet.
- BROWN, FRANCIS H., M.D., *Editor*, Boston.—Ten of his own publications.
- BRYANT, H. WINSLOW, Portland, Me.—One pamphlet; and two book-plates.
- BULLOCK, CHARLES J., Ph.D., Madison, Wis.—One pamphlet.
- BURGESS, REV. FRANCIS G., Florence, Italy.—Two pamphlets.
- BURCHELL, JAMES E., Sydney, C. B.—One newspaper.
- BURRAGE, MAJOR HENRY S., Portland, Me.—"My Capture and What Came of it."
- CANFIELD, MRS. PENELOPE L., Worcester.—Nine selected books; and "The Army and Navy Journal," in continuation.
- CAREY, ARTHUR A., Boston.—"The Spectator," 1883-97.
- CHARITIES REVIEW COMPANY, New York.—Numbers of "The Charities Review."
- CRANE, JOHN C., Millbury.—One pamphlet.
- CRITIC COMPANY, New York.—Numbers of their magazine.
- CUMMINGS, HERBERT R., Worcester.—His "Portraits of Worcester City Government and Department Officials, February, 1898."

- CURRIER, FREDERICK A., Fitchburg.—His "Tavern Days and the Old Taverns of Fitchburg and Stage Coach Days and Stage Coach Ways."
- CURTIS, HON. GEORGE M., New York.—His "Address in the Fair Case, California, 1897."
- CURTIS AND CAMERON, Boston.—One pamphlet.
- CUTLER, MRS. EBENEZER, Worcester.—Thirty-two books; one hundred and thirteen pamphlets; and parcels of four religious newspapers.
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- DEMENIL, ALEXANDER N., St. Louis, Mo.—His "Hesperian," as issued.
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- DODD, MEAD AND COMPANY, New York.—Numbers of their "Bookman."
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- DODGE, HON. RUFUS B., Jr., Worcester.—His "Inaugural Address as Mayor, January 3, 1898."
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- EMERY, REV. S. HOPKINS, Taunton.—His Address at the Dedication of a Memorial Tablet near Taunton Green.
- FINANCE PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Numbers of their "Saint Louis Finance."
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- FRANCKE, KUNO, Ph.D., Cambridge.—His two pamphlets on "Cotton Mather and Hermann Francke."
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NEW YORK EVENING POST PRINTING COMPANY.—"The Nation," as issued.

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PERAZIEL, ANTONIO, Mexico, Mex.—Two volumes of "Mexican Census Reports."

POCKET CLUB COMPANY, Evansville, Wis.—Numbers of "The Pocket."

POMEROY, JAMES E., Worcester.—His "Christmas Greeting" for 1897.

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TELEGRAM NEWSPAPER COMPANY.—"The Worcester Daily Telegram," Vol. XII.; and "The Worcester Sunday Telegram," Vol. XIII.

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- WORLD PUBLISHING COMPANY.—"The World Almanac and Encyclopedia, 1898."
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SOCIETY OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.—Account of the Twenty-eighth Reunion.

SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Papers of the Society, Volume 25.

SPRINGFIELD CITY LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.—The Library Bulletin, as issued.

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YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Fourth General Report, 1896-7.

THE GENESIS AND EVOLUTION OF THE TURKISH MASSACRE OF ARMENIAN SUBJECTS.

BY CYRUS HAMLIN.

TO ANY one who has a competent knowledge of the Turkish Empire such an act of inhumanity would seem too absurd to be possible. For, first, They, the Armenians, have always been a very useful people in all the common occupations of life. They are the best farmers of Asia Minor, the best carpenters, masons, and stone blasters and workers. They are traders and carriers. Much of the transportation of goods is in their hands.

Second, For five hundred years they have been a most loyal people. The influential Turkish newspaper, the *Tirjinn Hakikat*, of February, 1896, declared that this people had always been loyal and useful until influence from abroad had changed the complexion of affairs. Then, moreover, they are under the sacred protection of the Koran—the law.

Third, They had no affiliation with any people or prince that would help them in disloyalty. The Catholic Armenians had France; the Greek rayahs, Russia; but the Protestant and Gregorian Armenians, nine-tenths of the race, had absolutely no friend among the Great Powers. They have always been entirely in the hands of the Turk. They have enjoyed their own language, their religion and their schools.

Fourth, They were powerfully protected against violence by the sacred law of *adet*; established custom. Any work, enterprise, building, institute that has been allowed by government and people to exist and to be known, can-

not be disturbed, even by the Sultan. The Armenians had been protected by Selim III. (1789-1807), Mahmoud II. (1808-1839), Abdul Medjid (1839-1861), Abdul Aziz (1861-1876).

Fifth, They had lived amicably with the Turks. The rich and powerful had always oppressed them. But the common Turks were friendly with them. The Turk is an honest, kind, social, hospitable being, if you do not tread on his corns; and the stranger is very foolish to do that. I have experienced unbounded hospitality from Turks. They are, however, capable of a terrible fanaticism.

Other reasons might be added; but these are enough to show that, when the present Sultan, Abdul Hamid II., came to the throne, the Armenians were the safest people in the world. They were favored subjects of an empire guarded by the Great Powers of Europe. How, then, has the bloody change occurred? It has come about, in some way, in accordance with the motives that govern men; otherwise, the whole story is a bloody romance, and cannot enter into human history.

The question is clearly solved in the personal history of the reigning Sultan. He came to the throne in 1876, finding the Empire in the most disastrous condition. He took pains to announce himself as its deliverer. He would be the only source of power; and every officer, of whatever grade, should be responsible to him, and should faithfully perform his duties or feel his sovereign's wrath. From his course it is plain that he formed the design of having all his officers Moslems. He found the sub-departments of all the high offices of the Empire filled with Armenians and other rayahs. He would have them all Moslems. He would convert his rayahs by making it very greatly for their interest to exchange their faith for Islam. He prosecuted this work with untiring zeal. Thousands were thus degraded from office, but to every one it was said: "Become a Moslem, adopt Islam, the only true

faith, and you will not only keep your place but you will be in the way of promotion." He was doubtless not a little disturbed when he found how few converts he thus made. The Armenian nation has always shown a very firm attachment to its language, faith and people. So many vacant places were filled with ignorant and incompetent Moslems that complaints came from heads of departments that, with such incompetent aid, they could not perform the duties of their offices. This made the Sultan plunge into the subject of education with a zeal never shown by any previous occupant of the throne. He would establish Moslem schools in every village of his Empire, and he would close up every Christian school in Asia Minor. He met with many difficulties. France forbade his touching the Catholic schools, and Russia the Greek schools.

His efforts for Moslem education are worthy of praise ; his persecution of the Protestant and Gregorian schools has been persistent, crafty and effective. No treaties have embarrassed him. He balanced England by the counter weight of Russia, and his formal treaty with her was annihilated. American treaties were set aside by experiments. I have twenty-two records of gross violations of treaty obligations in the years 1890, 1891 and 1892 ; some of destruction of American property, some of invasion of personal rights. Of these twenty-two only one received serious consideration. The burning of Mr. Bartlett's house at Boudour, near Smyrna, received nothing but diplomatic consideration until the report that an ironclad would be sent to Smyrna caused immediate payment. Since then eight buildings, houses and institutions, have been burned, with furniture, clothing, libraries ; the conflagrations directed by Turkish officials, and the intention to pay an indemnity awaits the threat of an ironclad. In all this persecution of the schools, every teacher was kindly advised that acceptance of the true faith would secure

better work and pay. That tentative effort at converting his useful rayahs yielded little fruit, but there were mightier forces in his power.

Taxation has always been oppressive. Under Hamid II. it has become destructive. A tenth of everything is required by law, but the tax gatherers decide the tenth and often take a fifth or a half. Sometimes it was levied upon imaginary products, which they were accused of having sold or concealed. All who were unable for any reason to pay the sum imposed, were cast into those vile, filthy prisons, of which I have tested two specimens of the better sort, where the stench seemed death! There was uniformly the same answer to complaints and petitions: "The true faith and you are free." To this oppression of the tax gatherers was added a fiercer robbery of the Kurds. They have always been considerate robbers of the Armenian villages in the eastern parts of the Empire, bordering upon the Kurdish mountains. Their aim was never to destroy a village, but to keep it for another year. Often villages made contracts with Kurdish tribes to give them a certain portion of live-stock, grain, fruits and grape molasses (*pek-mez*) for their protection from the fellow-tribes. This happy state of moderate robbery came to an end and became ruthless and destructive.

Full twelve years ago Dr. Barnum of Harpoot wrote me that he "saw nothing in the future but Islam or extermination." However, up to that time Hamid II. had no intention of becoming what he finally did become, The Assassin of the Bosphorus! His patriotic object was to unify his Empire and make it as purely a Moslem Empire, as the Czar was making his a Slavic Empire. If Pan-Slavism was the true and wise law for Russia, Pan-Islamism was equally good for Turkey. That was his guiding star, and no obstacle should stop his progress. A solid Moslem Empire would be strong against the world. He was the spiritual infallible head of one hundred and eighty millions,

and he spent hours in reasoning out to our minister, Judge Terrell, that he was thus the strongest monarch in the world. It is evident that through all this discipline he had grown stronger in his resolution to convert his rayahs. He would finally give them the choice, "Islam or Gehenna!" In our milder language it would be "Islam or Death!" But here the Koran would have blocked his way had not Russia come to his aid. Russian political agents had watched and studied the career of the Sultan, and had put to work the same policy which produced the Bulgarian horrors, so greatly to her advantage in the Russo-Turkish war at the beginning of Hamid's reign. A number of professed patriots, Russian Armenians, began to stir up revolution. They falsely claimed to have revolutionary coteries formed through the Empire and they were collecting funds, which went into their own pockets, ostensibly to arm these bodies and to prepare for a blow. The whole thing was supremely ridiculous, and the Armenian people were nowhere deceived. At a safe distance, in foreign cities, revolutionary organizations sprang up under the same name, Hunchagist, and began to belch forth their attacks upon the Sultan and his government and to call upon the people to strike for freedom. Absurd and wicked as this was, it answered Abdul's purpose perfectly. He had the papers translated and spread over the Empire. The Armenians were denounced and could all be destroyed, not as rayahs but as rebels, unless they would save their lives by conversion. He had prepared both Turkish and Kurdish cavalry for the bloody task. The awful savagery with which it was applied at Sasun, September, 1894, far exceeded his expectations. Children were tortured unto death in the presence of their mothers. Safety was offered to the mothers if they would but say "Mohammed is the Prophet of God." A Turkish soldier returning to Bitlis declared to a missionary that the uniform reply was, "Jesus of Nazareth." Probably no martyrs were ever

subjected to greater torture than these Armenian women, whose husbands and brothers and children had been killed in their presence.

Hamid endeavored to break the force of this fearful assassination of so many thousands of innocent men, women and children, by two falsehoods officially published and sworn to by Armenians themselves. First, that there had been no massacre, and second, that it was the suppression of an Armenian rebellion. The signatures to these declarations were obtained by fearful tortures, in some cases even unto death. At Sasun, Hamid entered upon that fearful period of massacre for which he had been eighteen years in training. Guided by a false political principle in union with a fanatical faith, he had gradually laid aside all principles of humanity and of justice, had evaded and transgressed his own sacred law by exalting into a revolution a wicked and despicable scheme which he should have set his foot upon and crushed, and which even if let alone had no power for evil. Then followed those two years, 1895 and 1896, of the diplomacy of the Great Powers and the play on the part of Hamid of promised reforms and real massacres.

The grim reality is at least one hundred thousand innocent and loyal subjects massacred, two thousand four hundred and ninety-three villages destroyed, five hundred and sixty-eight churches destroyed and three hundred and twenty-eight converted into mosques, six hundred thousand persons and more driven out, their homes and property destroyed or confiscated. Exposure to cold, hunger, want of clothing, bedding and household utensils, constant prevalence of typhoid fever, have doubtless carried off more than another one hundred thousand in these four years. His converts are not equal to half the number he has killed, and for the most part they will prove worthless citizens after all.

Now there is a lull in the storm. It is quite possible

that after he has sufficiently humiliated and weakened the Greeks he may return to the Armenians and finish his work. Whatever he may do now, he has brought ruin upon his Empire and debased himself to the fitting name of the "Assassin of the Bosphorus." But let it not be said that Islam alone has disgraced the close of the century with atrocious inhumanity. It is a dark blot upon the Christianity and civilization of the age that one of the old so-called Christian Powers of Europe has envied Hamid II. the sole infamy of being "*The Assassin*," with this preëminence, that it has slaughtered the men and women of its own faith, which Hamid never did. Our government and people will not copy the cold inhumanity of the Great Powers of Europe, but will drive the Assassin from his prey and give freedom and prosperity to the land he has cursed so long.

JOHN WINTHROP, JUNIOR.

BY FREDERICK JOHN KINGSBURY.

JOHN WINTHROP, JR., is one of the most interesting, attractive and picturesque personalities in our early colonial history. There has never been a life of him published, nor do I know of any book containing anything more than a fragmentary sketch. We ought to have a book or a series of books containing the lives of all our early governors, if not of our later ones; but among them all there is not one whose life presents such attractive material for this purpose as that of John Winthrop, Jr. But the information is scattered through many books and papers, and probably much in the way of letters, which would throw light on his conduct and character, is unprinted and in private collections.

He was born February 12, 1605/6, in the little village of Groton, in the County of Suffolk, England, about fifteen miles directly west from Ipswich, one of the principal towns of the County of Suffolk about sixty miles north-east from London. He was the eldest son of John Winthrop and Mary Forth. His father was a lawyer and a man of property, though not of very large wealth, but enough to place the family among the landed gentry of the County, he being the Lord of the Manor of Groton. At the age of nine young Winthrop lost his mother; within two years his father had married again and lost his second wife; but his third wife, Margaret Tyndal, whom he married soon after, seems to have been a good mother to her step-son, and the relations between them were always affectionate and confidential.

At an early age he was sent to the Free Grammar School of Bury St. Edmunds in his native County of Suffolk, and at fifteen entered Trinity College, Dublin. Cambridge University was only a few miles distant from his home. His father had been a student there, but left to get married and begin life for himself when not yet eighteen years old. Why the younger John was sent to Dublin, which involved a long and disagreeable journey, at least twice a year, each way, does not appear ; but he had an uncle, Emmanuel Downing, the husband of his father's sister Lucy, living at that time in Dublin and in whose family he lived for at least a portion of his college course. This may have been the reason for his going there rather than to Cambridge. Cotton Mather says that he was at Cambridge for a while ; but Savage thinks he is wrong, and I find no evidence of it although Mather's statement is copied by Dr. Benjamin Trumbull and probably by several others. During his residence at Dublin he maintained a frequent correspondence with his father, many of whose letters have been preserved. They are filled with such good advice as parents usually send to their sons in college, written in the prevalent religious style of the time, and with details in regard to books, clothes and bills ; but their tone is confidential and warmly affectionate. In one of his letters his father says : "For the money you have spent I will pay it and what else your uncle shall appoint me, so soon as I receive my rents. And for your expenses, seeing I perceive you are considerate of my estate, I will have an equal regard of yours ; and so long as your mind is limited to a sober course I will not limit your allowance less than to the uttermost of mine own estate. So as, if £20 be too little, as I always accounted it, you shall have £30, and when that shall not suffice you shall have more. Only hold a sober and frugal course, yet without baseness, and I will shorten myself to enlarge you," *etc.* This letter is a very fair indication of the relations existing between the

father and son during their whole lives. The father was always very proud of the son and reposed the greatest confidence in him, while the son entertained for the father a reverent respect and admiration. Yet, I do not think that they were very much alike; perhaps as much so however as fathers and sons usually are, and possibly too if they had been more alike they would have been less affectionate.

At nineteen young Winthrop left Dublin. It is supposed that he graduated, but there appears to be some doubt about it. He then went to London to study law and was admitted to the Inner Temple February 28, 1624/5. During the next year he has some correspondence with his father on the subject of his marriage, and then he all at once decides that he is not suited to the law and wants to go into the navy. The allusions are somewhat vague but he seems to have had at different times two young ladies in mind. It may be mere imagination, but one cannot help suspecting that some untoward experience in his love affairs suddenly aroused the sleeping patriotism in his heart and led him to think that the country might value a life which some young woman did not appear to care for. Anyone whose memory extends through the period of our late war must have had frequent occasion to observe how much unrequited love and uncongenial marriage had to do with the recruiting officer's success—so that at times it seemed as if these prolific promoters of patriotism had been appointed of Providence to carry the country through its crisis. However that may be, his friends obtained for him the appointment of secretary for Capt. Best who, under Admiral Harvey, formed part of an expedition led by the Duke of Buckingham for the relief of the French Protestants at Rochelle. It seems to have been a relative, Joshua Downing, an officer in the admiralty, who secured him the place, and from a letter of his one would judge that just at that time young Winthrop was not particular

where he went or what became of him. Mr. Downing writing to John Winthrop, Sr., April 24, 1627, says :

"Concerning Mr. John Winthrop's inclinations to the sea, I will use my best endeavors for him, but I have no part in any shipping that goes for Turkey and the merchants that are owners do commonly place their own servants for pursers. But if he pleaseth to go along in those ships as a passenger to see the countries, the charges of his diet will not be great and I will commit him to the care of them that will be tender of him ; so shall he have more liberty for himself and have all occasion to make the best observation for his own good. But what if you send him now out in this fleet with the Duke. The Lord Harvey is rear admiral and I think a well disposed gentleman, the captain under him is Capt. Best, in whom I have some interest. If you should think well of it advise me speedily and I will deal with Capt. Best accordingly."

They did think well of it and he went with Capt. Best. The expedition was unsuccessful in its undertaking. There are one or two letters from Winthrop to his father, but nothing to show his own part in what was going on. In less than a year the affair had ended and he was back in London speculating as to whether he would join Endicott's Company to America. His father writes to him to send him some tobacco, but not to make any permanent arrangement with Endicott, but the rather to come and go for a little and see how he liked it. About this time the elder Winthrop had a severe injury to his hand, which became inflamed and confined him for many weeks, and the young man writes full instructions how to take care of it, not however of the most scientific kind, and sends him two plasters, a black and a yellow, given him by an old woman in London, with the promise of a certain cure, which indeed after a while occurred. This is given rather to show the turn of his mind and disposition than his medical knowledge or skill. Where or when he obtained the medical knowledge for which he afterwards

became somewhat famous I do not know. For a man of his quick observation and versatility and scientific and mechanical tastes it was probably not difficult to acquire such an amount of it as was possessed by the average practitioner of that time.

About this time he had an opportunity for a voyage to Turkey and the East under favorable auspices and sailed in the ship *London*, June, 1628. He visited Italy and Turkey, was in Constantinople three months and travelled about the Mediterranean where there was water carriage. He was absent fourteen months and came home by way of Amsterdam, from whence he writes for money and says he has not heard a word from his family since leaving home; showing a great change in postal facilities in the last two hundred and fifty years. He was with the English Ambassadors of the countries where he went, evidently received much attention and saw things with an observant eye and an intelligent understanding.

Almost the first news he gets on his return is a letter from his father announcing his proposed migration to America, and to this he replies, after some introductory and formal sentences, "For the business of New England I can say no other thing but that I believe confidently that the whole disposition thereof is of the Lord, who disposeth all alterations by his blessed will to his own glory and the good of His; and therefore do assure myself that all things shall work together for the best therein. And for myself I have seen so much of the vanity of the world" (he is now 24 years old) "that I esteem no more of the diversities of countries than as so many inns, whereof the traveller that hath lodged in the best or the worst findeth no difference when he cometh to his journey's end; and I shall call that my country where I can most glorify God and enjoy the presence of my dearest friends. Therefore herein I submit myself to God's will and yours, and, with your leave, do dedicate myself, laying by all desire of

other employments whatsoever, to the service of God and the company herein, with the whole endeavors both of body and mind." This promise he seems at once to have set out to fulfil, looking in a broad-minded way into the needs of a new colony and planning for them. January 18, 1629, he writes that he has a perfect plan with complete dimensions of the fort at Colchester. He also gives a full account of a horizontal wind-mill which he has invented and which he thinks will be very useful in a new country. This invention seems however never to have gotten further. February 8, 1631/2, he was married to his cousin, Martha Fones, of London. Savage says she was nineteen. Her father had died during Winthrop's absence in the East and her sister had married his younger brother Henry, who was a rather visionary and extravagant young man and had already spent some time in the West Indies. Henry came to America with his father, though not in the same vessel, and was accidentally drowned soon after his arrival.

John Winthrop, Sr., sailed for America in April, 1630. He brought with him, besides Henry, two boys, Stephen and Adam, twelve and ten years old. Mrs. Winthrop and the other children, one of whom was born soon after her husband left the country, remained in England under the care of John, who was also intrusted with selling his father's estate and settling his affairs. Having disposed of all these complicated matters, about the middle of August, 1631, he, with his wife, his mother and all her children, except Deane, who was left at school, set sail for the new world in the ship *Lyon*. They reached Boston harbor November 2d, and were received with great demonstrations of respect by the public authorities and were welcomed with salutes of artillery and small arms, and complimented with bountiful presents of provisions, so that the Governor says in his diary, "It was a great marvel that so much people and such a store of provisions could be gathered together at so few hours warning."

Very soon after his arrival he, being now twenty-five

years of age, was complimented by an appointment as one of the assistants or governor's council for the Colony of Massachusetts. Two years later he had purchased and settled the town of Ipswich, taking with him from Boston several of the old Groton neighbors who had come out with his father.

Here, not long after his arrival, his young wife died. She left no children. The following year he returned to England, and in 1635 married Elizabeth Reade, step-daughter of Hugh Peters. While in England he made an arrangement with Lord Say and Sele and Lord Brook to settle a plantation on their lands at and about the mouth of the Connecticut River, and was appointed governor of that territory for one year. He returned here in the fall of 1635, and immediately despatched men from Boston to the mouth of the Connecticut to erect a fort. He was just in time; for the Dutch already had men on the way to take possession of the place, but finding it occupied withdrew. He finished his fort building, served out his term of a year and returned to Ipswich to look after his interests there. For the next ten years he made his home in this vicinity, apparently attending to his private affairs and taking no further interest in public matters than became a gentleman of large public influence and a magistrate. About 1638 the town of Ipswich granted to him "Castle Hill," a finely situated farm of one hundred acres, "if he lives in Ipswich." This condition seems to show that his pioneering spirit was so well understood that it seemed likely he might leave them, and on the other hand that his influence and example were such as made him a very desirable citizen to keep. It was also probably, to some extent at least, a compensation for services already rendered the town in extinguishing Indian titles, and in other ways. I find in several books, apparently copied by one writer from another, but from whom originally I am not sure, the following statement, "When his father had made himself poor in nourishing the Massachusetts Colony,

this noble son gave up voluntarily his own large inheritance to further the noble work." I am at a loss to know just what this means. It is clear from various letters that the younger Winthrop had considerable property still in England. I do not know how he came by it. His mother, Mary Forth, was an heiress, but it nowhere appears that any portion of her property came to him. His father in a letter written to his son not long before his own death speaks of having received a large property with his wife, but in his letters to his son at college, in speaking of providing for his expenses, he says nothing of young Winthrop having property of his own. In the letter above referred to he says, "My son, the Lord knows how dear thou art to me and that my care has been more for thee than for myself." I do not think his first wife, Martha Fones, had any large amount of property, but I am inclined to think that he must have received something with his second wife. He was a good business manager, but he went into many enterprises, like salt works, iron works, mining schemes, *etc.*, with reference to the public good, and none of them I think were very successful and must on the whole have resulted in a loss. [*See Note.*]

The elder governor Winthrop died a poor man; but he had given almost his whole time to the service of the State, and for the most part without salary, although he had from time to time very considerable grants of land, most of which he still owned at the time of his death, but which were not of great pecuniary value. In short I am in the dark as to what this statement about his giving up his property means, although a more careful study might throw light upon it.

In 1641 he again visited England, and on his return engaged for a while in establishing an iron foundry at or near Braintree. In 1640 he had acquired title to Fisher's Island and extensive tracts on the main land, getting a grant from Massachusetts and Connecticut, so far as either had power to grant; they admitting that there might be a

question as to jurisdiction, and some years later when the island was included in the Duke of York's grant, he obtained a further patent from that government.

In 1644, according to Miss Calkins, he began building and planting on the island. In 1645 he was there, and his wife's sister Mrs. Lake was with him, although he had not yet removed his family, which he did the following year. The question of jurisdiction was still unsettled. Winthrop was a magistrate of Massachusetts and had the right to join persons in marriage. A young couple in Saybrook wishing to marry, Winthrop doubted his jurisdiction but told them if they would come to New London (or Pequot, as it then was) he would marry them. This was not convenient for them, but they finally compromised by meeting at what was supposed to be the boundary, a small stream a little west of Niantic, and there he married them. The stream has borne the name of Bride Brook to this day.

John Winthrop, Jr., was not yet a citizen of Connecticut. Sept. 9, 1647, "The Court (Gen. Assembly) thinks meet that a commission be directed to Mr. Winthrop to execute justice according to our laws and the rules of righteousness."

March 14, 1648, "Mr. John Winthrop of Pequot was voted to be in nomination for election to the place of magistrate."

May 18, 1648, "Mr. Winthrop, younger, is to have commission for to execute the place of a magistrate at Pequot."

May 16, 1650, "John Winthrop, Esq., was made a freeman of this jurisdiction." It would seem from this that he was elected a magistrate before he was made a freeman; whether this was an oversight, I cannot now say.

May 13, 1651, he addressed a letter to the General Court saying that he has been requested to make search for minerals and metals of value, and proposing a form of grant with the Court, to the effect that whereas said John Winthrop proposes at his own expense to search for mines

and minerals, if he shall find and maintain any mines of lead, copper, tin, antimony, vitriol, black lead, alum, stone-salt, salt springs or the like, that he, his heirs and associates shall have and enjoy the same with the land, wood, timber and waters within two or three miles of said mine, for carrying on the same, provided it be not within the bounds of any town or any particular person's property, *etc.* This request was complied with.

In the spring of 1657, Winthrop was elected governor of the Colony of Connecticut. He was not present at the time and the Court desired Capt. Culick (the secretary) "to write a letter to Mr. Winthrop as speedily as may be to acquaint him to what place the country hath chosen him and to desire his present assistance as much as may be." Here the office clearly sought the man, and sought him earnestly. In August the Court orders "that Mr. Winthrop being chosen governor of this colony shall be again desired to come and live in Hartford with his family while he governs; they grant him the yearly use or profits of the housing and lands in Hartford belonging to Mr. John Haynes, which shall be yearly discharged out of the public treasury." The next year, 1658, Thomas Wells was chosen governor and John Winthrop deputy-governor, but the year following he was chosen governor again and so on every year for a period of eighteen years until his death. There was a law that no person should be chosen governor above once in two years, which was the reason why he was not re-elected in 1658, but in 1660 this law was repealed in order that the colony might avail themselves of Winthrop's services. Connecticut was not without men of ability and experience and fully fit for the office of governor; neither were they men devoid of ambition. It therefore seems a surprising thing that they should have voted to change their organic law in order to avail themselves of the services of this new comer as a ruler. It is such a recognition of manifest ability and personal popularity as seldom comes to any public man. It was during the earlier years of his adminis-

tration as governor, that he acquired considerable eminence as a physician and had an extensive practice. He left a record of this practice covering a period of ten years. It is a strictly medical record such as physicians are accustomed to keep and gives us no special insight into the character of the man—but the fact of this experience is an added proof of his investigating spirit and his remarkable versatility.¹

In 1661, Winthrop presented to the General Court a form of charter such as he thought Connecticut should have from the King. This was referred to a committee with power. To be brief, the Court accepted the charter, appointed Winthrop their agent with full power to proceed to England to procure the same, and a grant was made of £80 for his personal expenses and £500 for general expenses connected with securing the charter. He went and he was successful. He had to take large authority and much responsibility; to make new agreements as to boundaries and to do various other things as to which the result on the minds of the people at home must have seemed to him very doubtful. He was a born diplomat, an astute manager. He knew when to insist and when to yield. It was during this visit that he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society, a very good indication of how he was received and how he stood among the best and most learned and most distinguished people in the Kingdom. He is frequently mentioned as being one of the founders of that society, but I believe the fact is that though a very early member his name does not appear among the original applicants for the charter of the society.

Cotton Mather in his *Magnalia* says, "I have been informed that while he was engaged in this negotiation [for the charter] being admitted into a private conference with the King he presented his majesty with a ring which Charles I. had upon some occasion given to his grand-

¹ He is said to have disclaimed being a physician and never to have received a fee for his services.

father, and the King not only accepted his present, but also declared that he accounted it one of his richest jewels." Since that time historians have quoted the story and some seem to regard this gift as the turning point in the whole transaction. Of late years, however, it has become the fashion to throw doubt on anything related by Cotton Mather. But it should be remembered that Mather did not write as a historian but as a collector of interesting events which in any way had come to his knowledge illustrating the life of the times. Doubtless Mather had heard this story and there is no reason why it should not be true. It was like Winthrop and like Charles. But even in those days kings were to some extent controlled by their ministers, and the granting of the charter, whatever might be the minor details, was a deliberate governmental act.

Winthrop sent the charter home and before long followed himself, and for fourteen years after "ruled the people prudently with all his power," by annual re-election, until his death in Boston while on the business of the State in 1676, at the age of seventy.

Thus we see him as a student, a lawyer, a sailor, a soldier, traveller, explorer, magistrate, founder of three towns, builder of fortifications, chemist, physician, mineralogist, diplomatist, governor, and above all a Christian gentleman.

NOTE.—Since the above was in type I have learned that this "giving up of his inheritance" refers to the fact that in 1630 John Winthrop, Jr., being heir of entail to his father's landed estate, voluntarily broke the entail in order that adequate settlements might be made on his step-mother and her children, and to provide funds for the emigration. The Forth money was settled on John Winthrop until his children by Mary Forth came of age when, if their mother was not living, it was to be divided between them. Thomas Fones, the father of John Winthrop, Jr.'s first wife, appears to have left a considerable estate.

His second wife received £300 from her father.

When Gov. Winthrop became pecuniarily involved in 1640, John Winthrop, Jr., made him considerable advances, taking in part payment unimproved land in New England.

I am indebted for the above to the kindness of Robert C. Winthrop, Esq., who also sent me several other items, but too late for insertion in the text.

F. J. K.

PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 21, 1898, AT THE HALL OF THE
SOCIETY IN WORCESTER.

THE President, HON. STEPHEN SALISBURY, in the chair.

The following members were present :

Edward E. Hale, George F. Hoar, Nathaniel Paine,
Stephen Salisbury, Samuel A. Green, Elijah B. Stoddard,
William A. Smith, James F. Hunnewell, Egbert C. Smyth,
Edward H. Hall, Edward G. Porter, Thomas H. Gage,
Edmund M. Barton, Franklin B. Dexter, George P. Fisher,
Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Solomon Lincoln,
Andrew McF. Davis, Cyrus Hamlin, J. Evarts Greene,
Henry S. Nourse, William B. Weeden, Reuben Colton,
Henry H. Edes, Edward Channing, George E. Francis,
Frank P. Goulding, James P. Baxter, A. George Bullock,
George W. Cable, G. Stanley Hall, John McK. Merriam,
William E. Foster, J. Franklin Jameson, Francis H.
Dewey, Henry A. Marsh, Thomas C. Mendenhall, Edwin
A. Grosvenor, Leonard P. Kinnicutt, George H. Haynes,
Charles L. Nichols, Edward S. Morse.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The report of the Council was presented by Vice-President EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., who also read a paper upon the Dictionary to Eliot's Indian Bible, bequeathed to the Society by our late associate, HON. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, LL.D.

The annual report of the Treasurer was read by NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M.

The report of the Librarian was read by Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON.

The foregoing reports were accepted as part of the report of the Council, and were referred to the Committee of Publication.

A ballot being taken for President, all the votes were cast for STEPHEN SALISBURY.

Hon. SAMUEL A. GREEN, Mr. GEORGE W. CABLE, and Dr. G. STANLEY HALL, appointed by the chair as a committee to nominate the other officers of the Society, reported the following list; and a ballot being taken they were unanimously elected.

Vice-Presidents:

Hon. GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL.D., of Worcester.
Rev. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D., of Boston.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence:

FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, M.A., of New Haven, Connecticut.

Secretary for Domestic Correspondence:

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., of Lincoln.

Recording Secretary:

CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

Treasurer:

NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M., of Worcester.

All the above being *ex-officio* members of the Council; and the following—

Councillors:

HON. SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, LL.D., of Boston.
REV. EGBERT COFFIN SMYTH, D.D., of Andover.
SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A.M., of Worcester.
HON. EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS, A.M., of Worcester.
JEREMIAH EVARTS GREENE, B.A., of Worcester.
GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL, LL.D., of Worcester.
WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, A.M., of Providence,
Rhode Island.
HON. JOHN DAVIS WASHBURN, LL.B., of Worcester.
THOMAS CORWIN MENDENHALL, LL.D., of Worcester.
HON. JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, A.M., of Portland, Me.

Committee of Publication:

REV. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., of Boston.
NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M., of Worcester.
CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.
CHARLES C. SMITH, A.M., of Boston.

Auditors:

WILLIAM A. SMITH, A.B., of Worcester.
A. GEORGE BULLOCK, A.M., of Worcester.

The Recording Secretary, in behalf of the Council, recommended for election, as foreign member, Douglas B. Brymner, LL.D., F.R.S.C., Archivist, of Ottawa, Province of Quebec; and for resident member, John Noble, A.B., of Boston; and these gentlemen were duly elected on separate ballots.

Dr. G. STANLEY HALL read a paper entitled, "The Rites of Adolescence."

HON. HENRY S. NOURSE read a paper entitled, "Mrs. Mary Rowlandson's Removes."

Dr. THOMAS C. MENDENHALL read a paper on the American Flag.

ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, A.M., read a paper on "The Massachusetts Bay Currency."

Vice-President HOAR said:—

I wish to communicate to the Society what I think will be worth printing,—copies of two visiting lists of Roger Sherman for the First Congress, which sat in New York, and the Second, which sat in Philadelphia; and also a list of the Senate, which, I suppose, shows the order in which the Senators in the First Congress were seated. These lists give, in many instances, the residence in New York and Philadelphia of the gentlemen named. So far as I can ascertain, there are no directories in existence which contain this information. The list for the First Congress is in a copy of Bailey's Pocket Almanac, a little publication not quite four inches long and not quite two and one-half inches wide, which could be carried comfortably in the waistcoat pocket, and is interleaved with blank leaves, on which Mr. Sherman has made many memoranda besides these visiting lists. The title-page is very curious, and is specially so as speaking of the United States as "the Empire." On one of the blank pages follows an entry of moneys loaned in each State, which it is presumed is an estimate made by Mr. Sherman for his argument in favor of Hamilton's plan for the assumption of the State debts, a measure which was under his charge in the House of Representatives. It corresponds nearly, though not precisely, with the estimate given by him in the debate of the amount due to the States for their advances in the Revolution. It will be seen that the three States of Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Connecticut had advanced nearly twice as much as all the other States put together, and Massachusetts two and one-half times as much as New York,

more than seven times as much as Virginia, and more than three times as much as all the Southern States put together. This may in part account for the earnest opposition, headed by Virginia, to the measure for the assumption of the State debts, the final passage of which is said to have been secured by the assent of the Northern States to locating the seat of government on the Potomac, a bargain, however, against which, I am glad to say, Mr. Sherman's vote was recorded. The copy of Bailey's Almanac for 1791, containing these entries for the First Congress, Second Session, is in my possession. The others are copied from a number of the same publication, the property of Mrs. Professor Thacher, lately of New Haven. Since the copy was made the original has been destroyed by fire, which consumed Mrs. Thacher's house in California. There are dots on the right hand and on the left hand of the list of names, and over the list is written in Mr. Sherman's hand, "Their visits, righthand." It is presumed that the dots for the former years have the same signification.

Another blank leaf of the almanac contains a list of the business unfinished at the end of the First Congress, as follows :

Senators. 1790.

- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. R. H. Lee. | 14. Pierce Butler. |
| 2. John Langdon. | 15. Oliver Ellsworth. |
| 3. Samuel Johnston. | 16. Wm. Few. |
| 4. George Read. | 17. Pain Wingate. |
| 5. Robert Morris. | 18. Wm. McClay. |
| 6. Ralph Izard. | 19. Richard Basset. |
| 7. Charles Carrol. | 20. Jonathan Elmer. |
| 8. Wm. S. Johnson. | 21. James Gunn. |
| 9. Phillip Schuyler, | 22. Mr. Hawkins. |
| 10. Caleb Strong. | 23. Mr. Stanton. |
| 11. Tristram Dalton. | 24. Mr. Foster. |
| 12. Rufus King. | 25. Mr. Monroe. |
| 13. John Henry. | 26. Mr. Dickinson. |

Moneys loaned in each State :

	Dollars.
N. Hampshire - - - - -	300,092
Massachusetts - - - - -	2,361,867
R. Island - - - - -	699,725
Connecticut - - - - -	1,269,677
N. York - - - - -	949,730
N. Jersey - - - - -	658,884
Pennsylvania - - - - -	3,948,904
Delaware - - - - -	65,820
Maryland - - - - -	410,218
Virginia - - - - -	313,742
N. Carolina - - - - -	113,341
S. Carolina - - - - -	218,043
Georgia - - - - -	90,442
Total - - - - -	11,398,485

Business unfinished :

X. Post office.	X. Coasting trade.
Land office.	Navigation Act.
Consuls.	Militia.
Weights & measures.	Bankruptcies.
Coining.	

From almanac owned by Mrs. Thacher :

their visits Right hand.

. Mr. Langdon . 222 high St	. Mr. Morris . high St.
. Mr. Cabot . 36 Union	. Mr. Basset .
. Mr. Strong . 58 N. 2d.	. Mr. Read . 33 Dock St.
. Mr. Foster . 29 Calahill	. Mr. Carroll
. Mr. Stanton . 125 S. 2d	. Mr. Henry . 170 high St.
. Mr. Ellsworth . 121 S. 3d.	. Mr. Munroe . 223 Arch
. Mr. Sherman 155 N. 2d St	. Mr. Taylor
. Mr. Bradley . 153 high	. Mr. Brown . Cornr 3d.
. Mr. Robinson . 20 N. 3rd	. Vine
. Mr. Burr 47 N. 2d.	. Mr. Edwards . 28 Arch
. Mr. King . 104 Spruce	. Mr. Hawkins . 170 high
. Mr. Rutherford . 56 N. 4th.	. Mr. Johnston . 189 S. 3d.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| . Mr. Butler . high | Vining |
| . Mr. Izard . 165 Chesnut | Key . 214 high St |
| . Mr. Few . 14 Cherry Alley | Mercer |
| Mr. Gunn. | Murray 85 S. 3d |
| . Gilman 9 high St | Seney |
| . Livermore 235 high | . Sheridine |
| . Jer. Smith . | Sterrit |
| . Ames . 235 high St | Giles 170 high |
| S. Bourn 65 Walnut | . Griffin Indian Queen |
| . Gerry 105 N. Front | Lee 107 N. 4th |
| . Goodhue . 72 N. 3d. | . Madison . 170 high |
| . Leonard 65 Walnut | . Moore . 184 S. Front |
| . Sedgwick | Page . 56 N. 4th St. |
| . Thacher . 235 high St. | . Parker . 56 N. 4th |
| Ward 155 N. 2d. | . Veneble . 170 high |
| . B. Bourn . 235 high | White . 18 Chesnut |
| . Hillhouse . 72 N. 3d St. | Greenup 28 Arch St |
| . Learned . 67 Pine St | . Orr . Corner Vine & 3d. |
| . Sturges . 72 N. 3d. | Ash |
| . Trumbull . 67 Pine | Grove |
| . Wadsworth . 67 Pine | Macon Corner Vine & 3d. |
| Niles 155 N. 2d. | . Steel . 96 N. 3d. |
| Is. Smith . 20 N. 3d. | Williamson Corner Vine & |
| . Benson . Corner Spruce & | 3d. |
| 3d. | . Barnwell 165 Chesnut |
| . Gordon 184 S Front | . Huger |
| . Lawrence . 155 Chesnut | . Wm. Smith . 165 Chesnut |
| . Shoonmaker 38 . N. 3d | Sumpter |
| Silvester . 118 Spruce | . Tucker . 9 N. 4th |
| . Treadwell 38 N. 3d | . Baldwin . 67 Vine |
| . Boudinot 229 high | Milledge 13 N. 6th. |
| . Clark . 68 high St. | Willis 13 N. 6th |
| . Kitchell . ditto | . Don Joseph de Jaudenes . |
| . Findley . 67 Pine St | Arch |
| . Fitzsimmons Cornr 4th & | . Don Joseph de Diar . |
| Spruce | . Don Joseph de Stanlayand . |
| Gregg . 67 Vine St | . John Fenno . N. 5th 34 |
| . Hartley . 105 Front St. | . Isaac Sherman . 66 N. 2d. |
| . D. Heister . 67 Vine | . Meredith 145. |
| Jacobs . 42 S 2d. | . Govr. S. Clair . 208 S. |
| Kittera . 32 High St. | Front |
| . Mulenberg . 82 N. 2d. | Wm. Knox . 75 S. 2d. St. |

From Bailey's Almanac for 1791, owned by George F. Hoar :

. General Knox . C. St.	. Mr. Dalton .
. Vice President .	Col. Sherman 3d. No. 70
. Mr. Wolcot . 3d. 121. S.	Col. Henly Race 93.
Govr. Mifflin .	. Minister Spain .
. Mr. McKean .	. Mr. Hammond . 204 2d.
Mr. Marshal .	South
Doctr. Sproat .	Minister Britain
Doctr. Green .	Dr. Strong 85 6 Street
. Mr. Hazard .	north
. Mr. Otis .	. Mr. Clymer 251 Markt.
Mr. Gibbs .	. Mr. Merideth
. Mr. Hamilton .	. Mr. Bingham .
. Mr. Jefferson .	

Mr. HOAR also referred to the Committee a paper upon RUFUS PUTNAM, contributed by Rev. Sidney Crawford of Rutland, Mass.

NATHANIEL PAINE said :—

At the annual meeting in October, 1895, I presented a list of early American imprints belonging to this Society. Certain facts that have come to my notice since, require a correction in regard to one of the titles there given.

On page 296,¹ under date of 1669, is given the title of an Indian Primer, taken from the prospectus of a reprint by John Small of Edinburgh. This had been laid into the imperfect copy owned by the Society under the impression that it was of the edition of 1669. Later and more careful examination of the Society's copy reveals the fact that it was made up of fragments of two editions, neither of which was of 1669.

By the kindness of our associate Mr. Wilberforce Eames, of the Lenox Library, New York, it has been found that the first fragment, pages 16 to 68, many of which are more or less damaged, is from the edition of 1720. The complete work, as described by Mr. Eames

¹ Vol. X. of "Proceedings."

in Pilling's "Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages," consists of 84 pages. A fac-simile of the title-page of this (1720) edition is there given.

Following page 68 of the 1720 edition are imperfect pages 17 to 37, which have been identified by Mr. Eames as from the edition of 1747. Of this edition the only perfect copy known at this time (1898) is in the possession of a Mr. Ayer of Chicago. It was in the library of George Livermore, and at the sale of that collection it fetched over \$800.

The Lenox Library has an imperfect copy of this edition (No. 794 of the Brinley Library Catalogue), and this, with the few leaves belonging to the American Antiquarian Society, are all of this rare imprint (except the Ayer copy) now known to be in existence.

On page 314 in a notice of "The Protestant Tutor" (or Teacher?), after giving the number of pages as (19) there should follow "Mr. Rogers's verses," 10 pages not numbered, with two blank leaves at the end.

I will also take this opportunity to add a few titles to the List of Early American Broad-sides belonging to the Society which I presented in October, 1897.

1743.

Circular letter, signed in Ms. by Thomas Prince :

"It being earnestly desired by many pious and judicious People, that particular Accounts of the Revival of Religion in every Town, in this remarkable Day of Grace, may be taken and published in The Christian History, judging it would greatly tend to the Glory of our Redeemer, and the Increase of his Triumphs; and being informed of the Revival of this happy Work in your Congregation;" &c., &c., &c.

Signed in Ms.

THOMAS PRINCE.

Dated in Ms. April 18, 1743.

"The above are hints: But please to follow your own method, and also to give an answer of what you have seen in other places."

5½ x 7¾.

1752.

"The two first clauses of an Act for the more Effectual Securing the Duties upon Tobacco."

8 x 13.

1757.

The Award and final Determination of the Referees respecting the claims of the Proprietors of the Kenebeck Purchase from the Colony of New-Plymouth, and the Company holding under Clark and Lake, relative to the Lands on Each side Kenebec River &c.

Superior Court of Judicature 1757.

ROGER WOLCOTT, JR. et al.

9 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 13 $\frac{7}{8}$.

1774.

Suffolk, ss. At the Superior Court, &c., August, 1774.

Whereas the Honourable Peter Oliver, Esq., Chief Justice of this Court, stands charged and impeached of divers High Crimes and Misdemeanors, and more especially with Bribery and Corruption in his said office, &c., &c.

8 x 9.

[The subscribers refuse acting as Grand Jurors at this Court, &c.]

[No signatures.]

1775.

January 27, 1775.

Resolve in relation to an "Association, &c., drawn up by the Grand Continental Congress respecting the Non-Importation, Non-Consumption and Non-Exportation of Goods, &c., &c." [Signed] WILLIAM YOUNG, WILLIAM HENSHAW, TIMOTHY BIGELOW, and forty others.

8 x 10 $\frac{1}{2}$.

The year before the Association had been agreed upon by the Continental Congress, as will appear by the broadside mentioned on page 483 of Proceedings for October, 1897.

1795.

Information to those who are disposed to migrate to South Carolina.

CHARLESTON, South Carolina, March 21, 1795.

Published by orders of the South Carolina Society for the information and assistance of persons emigrating from other countries.

JOHN RUTLEDGE, President,
DAVID RAMSAY, } Vice
JOHN BEE HOLMES, } Presidents,
and others.
10 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 16 $\frac{1}{2}$

Comments upon the subjects presented at the meeting, were made by Hon. Mr. BAXTER, Dr. G. STANLEY HALL, Prof. CHANNING, Prof. JAMESON, HENRY H. EDES, Esq., and Prof. MORSE; and the various papers were referred to the Committee of Publication.

The meeting dissolved, and the members repaired to the house of President SALISBURY, to partake of his hospitality.

CHARLES A. CHASE,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

SINCE the Society met in April the death of Mr. Gladstone has taken from our roll the oldest of our associates,—one who had earned the admiration of the world. Later yet we have had to sympathize with the family and near friends of Mr. Bayard in his long sickness and in his death. The death of Bishop William Stevens Perry of Iowa removes from our number a third valuable member. His career did not cover a field so wide when measured by miles, as those of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bayard. But he has left an honored memory for service well done. The Council have made such arrangements that we hope to present in print fitting memorials of these three distinguished associates.

The number of our foreign associates is not limited in the Constitution of the Society. It is desirable that at least it shall not be diminished, and the Council will present to you as a candidate for election as a foreign member the name of a gentleman who has already rendered large service to history.

The deaths of Mr. Bayard and Dr. Perry make two vacancies in the list of our resident members, which, also, we shall ask you to fill.

Our publications of the period since we met are in your hands. They are of unusual interest. Beside the papers, of which a part were read at Boston in April, a careful history has been prepared of the recovery of the Bradford manuscript, of the ceremonies with which it was received, and of the banquet in Boston, in which Senator Hoar, Mr. Bayard and others addressed the Society. An event so

interesting in the study of our history, in which our first Vice-President was so closely concerned, required such special memorial.

The reports of the Treasurer and of the Librarian will be laid before you in full. They show a gratifying condition of prosperity, which it will be our duty to maintain.

It is twenty-five years today since our late distinguished associate, Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, read to the Society in this hall the exhaustive paper on the work of Eliot and the literature of the Massachusetts language, which gave a permanent interest to the Council Report of that year. It is a year since we had the announcement here of his death. His widow subsequently presented to the Society his dictionaries of the language of the Massachusetts Indians. At the meeting in April the Council was able to announce that our associate Major John W. Powell had undertaken that the United States Bureau of American Ethnology should edit and print these dictionaries. The manuscripts have been placed in our hands by Mrs. Trumbull, and have been forwarded to Washington that they may be printed. They will be handled with the utmost care, and after the dictionaries are printed will be returned to our Library. The dictionaries are an invaluable memorial of the learning and diligence of their author. They will be edited by Dr. Albert Samuel Gatschet of the Bureau of Ethnology, an accomplished student of the Algonkin language, who is admirably qualified for this important duty. Their publication forms an era in the study of the language of the nations of this country not second to the epoch in that study marked by the publication by our Society in 1836 of the comprehensive memoir by Albert Gallatin. The manuscript dictionaries are in four volumes. One contains an English-Natick vocabulary, convenient for any one who wishes to translate

from our language into this Indian dialect.¹ Two other volumes of our Manuscripts contain the first draft of Dr. Trumbull's Dictionary from the Indian into English. It is arranged in the alphabetical order of the Massachusetts words. It was prepared by him with great care, with most admirable distinctness in the penmanship, and with frequent additions to the original text, inserted in their correct alphabetical places.

With his own hand Dr. Trumbull then copied these volumes into what may be called a new edition, with such corrections and additions as his later studies had suggested. This copy was not quite finished at his death, and the letters O P U W Y must be printed, with revision, from the first edition.

Dr. Trumbull has himself left a memorandum which shows the only essential difference between these two editions. In the latest manuscript itself, and in a note to Mr. Pilling, he says :

"In this first essay or rough draft of a dictionary of the Massachusetts language *as it was written by Eliot*, I followed Cotton in entering the verbs under the form that Eliot regarded as their infinitive mood. I discovered my error when it was too late to amend it in this draft. Ten years later I began a revision of my work, entering the verbs under the third person singular of their indicative present (aorist) in their primary or simple forms. That revised copy I have been obliged to leave, at present, incomplete. The materials for supplying its deficiency may be gathered from this volume."

Our plan is to reprint this last revision of the Indian English Dictionary, and also the volume of the English Indian Dictionary, with the changes indicated by Dr. Trumbull where he had not himself made them.

Eliot must have had such a dictionary as that by which

¹ Father Rasle a year after Eliot's death (1691) began such a dictionary from French into the Abnaki dialect. The Manuscript of this dictionary is in Harvard College Library, and the American Academy printed it in 1835, under the care of Mr. John Pickering.

one works from English to Indian. But we have, unfortunately, none of his own working hand-books. Dr. Daniel G. Brinton's assiduity has given us within a few years (1889) a *Lenape-English Dictionary* of the cognate language of the tribes on the Susquehanna and Delaware Rivers. As they had no Indian Bible, however, this is what may be called simply a glossary for conversation. Dr. Brinton has added immensely to its value by what he calls an *Index*, which is in fact the other dictionary reversed, with the words rearranged in the alphabetical order of the Indian words in the original.

It is curious—almost pathetic—to note the variety of arrangements in the various vocabularies which, till very recently, have been in the hands of students of these dialects. The earliest we have is a list of seventy-five words published by Rosier in 1605, on his return from the coast of Maine. These are Abnaki words. They are not arranged at all in any order, but that the fisheries are dominant. The first ten are :

Sun or moon,	Kesus.	Lobster,	Shoggah.
Codfish,	Biskkore.	Rockfish,	Shagatocke.
A fish with bones,	Manedo.	Cockle-fish,	Husucke.
Mussel,	Shoorocke.	Crab,	Wussorasha.
Cunner,	Tattaucke.	Porpoise,	Muscopeiweek.

The student of the Massachusetts dialect finds that his earliest vocabulary in the exhaustive list furnished us by Mr. Pilling is that in the end of Wood's "*New England's Prospect*." Here are three hundred words and phrases, alphabetically arranged, of which the first are :

Aberginian,	an Indian.	Assawog,	will you play?
Abamocho,	the devil.	A saw upp,	tomorrow.
Aunum,	a dog.	Ascoscoi,	green.
Ausupp,	a raccoon.	Ausomma petuc qua nocke,	
Ausohaunouchoc,	a lobster.		give me some bread.

Roger Williams's *Key* to the Narragansett language,

published in 1645, is our next Algonkin vocabulary. In this Key he certainly adopted one of the most unfortunate arrangements which has ever crossed the mind of a philologist. For his purpose he divided the subjects of human speech under thirty-two chapters, and he gives the Indian words with their meanings in those chapters respectively. The first of these subjects is "Salutation," not unnaturally, perhaps: a traveller among the Indians, like Williams, wants to say "how do you do?" The second is "Sleep and Lodging"; this also is natural. The third chapter is "Numbers," as in Spain you say, "May I have a quarter of the floor of this house?"—that is, a *cuarto* (whence our word quarters.) The fourth is "Consanguinity," the fifth is "Family and the Home," the sixth is "Parts of the Body, and Persons." And so on, ending naturally with Chapter 31, "Sickness," and Chapter 32, "Death and Burial." It is not difficult to see the order which lay in Williams's mind. But gentlemen who have not tried the experiment, will find it difficult to understand how great an inconvenience such a division is in the use of a vocabulary. Suppose, for instance, you have the word "Narragansett," and you wish to know what it meant. You have to conjecture whether "narra," the first two syllables, belongs to some part of the body of man, or whether it relates to sickness, or whether it is connected with the heavenly bodies,—for it may have reference to some shadow cast by the sun. Practically what happens is that you read through Williams's Key, from the first chapter, and hope that you may have the fortune to find your word in the earlier part of the reading.¹

These details show—what is really remarkable—that no practicable working Dictionary of the Massachusetts language has come down to us from the scholarly men around

¹ I am not sure that my illustration is a fortunate one. For Narragansett is the Anglicised form of Nayagansett,—a word which the people of that tribe spoke without the n.

Eliot, who knew the language well, or from himself. Mr. Pilling, in his invaluable Bibliography of the Algonkin tongue, names eighteen vocabularies of the Massachusetts dialect, and one dictionary. This looks encouraging to the young student. But he finds, alas, that the catalogue, which is doubtless complete, is made up mostly from the second-hand work of people who have been engaged in comparative studies of different dialects. Most of the so-called vocabularies do not contain fifty words. There are but four which even pretend to be from original authorities. Schoolcraft's is one, of 350 words taken from Eliot. The MS. fragment by Danforth in the vaults of our Massachusetts Historical Society is one. The words—names of kings, rivers, months and days—preserved by William Wood, make a third; and John Cotton's, printed by the Historical Society, is the fourth. Both Cotton and Danforth were Eliot's pupils. The Danforth fragment,—all which is preserved,—contains only the pages from O to the end of the alphabet. It was presented to the Historical Society by a descendant of Danforth, and the recovery of the rest seems very doubtful.

Thus the student, up till our time, who has essayed to read books in the language of Massachusetts Indians, or to write in it, has been obliged to work simply with the aid which Eliot's grammars and Cotton's vocabulary would give him, with such assistance, as has been referred to, which the Wood gives him, and which the side dialects give, especially Williams's *Key to the Narragansett*, the *Delaware Vocabularies*, and Father Rasle's *Abnaki Vocabulary*. Cotton is the principal authority.

In dealing with Cotton's vocabulary the practical difficulty is even greater than that in the use of Williams's *Key*. The *Key* was divided into only 32 subjects as we saw. Cotton's vocabulary is in 38 chapters, with a division less definite even than Williams's. The slight arrangement it has is in the alphabetical order of the

English words in each separate chapter, if indeed they be arranged at all. Thus the English adverbs are alphabetically arranged.

But, suppose the case suggested before. Suppose you wanted to find the sense of the word "Narragansett." In consulting Cotton you have to guess whether the word refers to the Arts, to Beasts, to Birds, to Rational Creatures, or whether it be an adjective or a pronoun, a verb, a participle, adverb, conjunction or preposition, or whether perhaps it may not be a colloquial phrase. Having guessed at this correctly or incorrectly, you read through, not in order, for there is none, but without order, the chapter which you have selected, and, if that fail you, you guess at another.

This process being continued is discouraging.

Passing by these blind guides, one proper Dictionary of the Massachusetts language is referred to by Mr. James Constantine Pilling. This is the manuscript Dictionary of Mr. Trumbull, which we have now confided to the Bureau of Ethnology. It could not be in better hands than Dr. Gatschet's, and it is pleasant to know that Dr. Trumbull had great confidence in him. We cannot doubt that our friends of the Historical Society, as soon as they are able to make use of their own treasures, will confide to Mr. Gatschet the precious volume of Danforth's work which they have in manuscript. It is only to be regretted that the remaining parts of this work are lost.

As an illustration of the completeness of Dr. Trumbull's work, I will read his article on the word *manito*. "MANIT, MANITTO; (usually translated) God: but Eliot more often transferred the names 'God' and 'Jehovah' to the Indian text. He has, however, Manit Wame Masugkenuk, 'God Almighty,' Ex. VI., 3; and in the 7th v., neen Jehovah kum—Manittoomwoo, 'I am the LORD your God' (lit., 'I the Lord am your God'), and neen kum—Manittomwo, 'I will be to you a God' (lit., I am your God), s. v.;

nen Manitto, 'I am God', Is. 43, 12; pl., manittoog, II K, 18, 33. With Keht, Keihtannit, 'the LORD God,' Gen. 24, 7, i. e., the great Mani.

"From anew, or an-u, he exceeds, is beyond, superior to, or *more than* (anire) another person or thing; suppos. anit, when he is superior to, or more than, etc. (cf. an-nun; suppos. aneuk, that which exceeds, hence, that which rots or becomes corrupt.) With the indeterminate and impersonal prefix, m'anit, he who (or that which) exceeds or passes beyond the common or normal; the preter-natural or extra-ordinary. Manitto is the verb subst. form,—he, or it, *is* manit: ('They cry out Manittóo, that is, It is a God' 'at the apprehension of any excellency in men, women, birds,' etc. R. W. 118.) Possessive form, num-manittom, my God, kum-manittomwo, your Gods, etc., the suffix om denoting that 'the person doth challenge an interest in the thing.' El. Gram., 12.¹"

And to descend from the noblest themes to one more carnal, here is his discussion of the word *succotash*, still familiar to us:

"SOHQUTTAHHAM—sohqwet—*v. t.* he breaks (it) in small pieces; pounds (it) or beats (it) small. The formation tah-hum, according to Howse (Cru. Gr. 86) implies, he beats or batters the object, after the manner of the root. Trans. pl. soohquttahhamunash, they (grains of corn, Is. 28, 28) are broken. Otherwise, soohg, sukg—adj. and adv. sohquttahháe, pounded; pl., sohquttahhash; whence, the adopted name, succotash.²

"Msickquatash (Nan.) *n. pl.* 'boiled corn whole' (i. e., no-sohquttahhash, not broken small or pounded?) See *sohquttahham*. When broken, sohquttahhash, but improperly applied to whole corn."

¹ Nau. manit; pl. manittówock.—Plq. mundtu. St.—chip. níón-e-do, mun-e-do; Kitchi Manito, Great-Spirit, Lord God (Bar.), Keshamunedoo, J.—Del. marietto, god, spirit, angel, Camp; manitto; get-an-nitto, Zeisb, Meoh., mannitto, 'a spirit or spectre,' Edw.

² Cru., séekwa-tahuin, he beats it into smaller pieces.

I may say in passing that *succotash* is now used by the Ojibway Indians for any porridge made by the boiling of soft substances for food. Thus, a porridge made from the fresh buds of the white pine is *succotash* in Wisconsin today.

The printed literature of the Massachusetts Indians, consisting of nearly forty different volumes, is more extensive than that of any other North American tribe; and, as we believe, it is better represented in the building in which we are than in any other single collection. The entries in Mr. Pilling's wonderful Bibliography of it under Dr. Trumbull's name take more room than any other single heading in his book except Eliot's. If this report had attempted, as it does not, any sketch of the present literary history of the Massachusetts language, it would have been necessary to copy many, many papers by him which have been read at the meetings of this Society, and which we have had the honor of printing, and almost as many more which he has presented before the American Philological Association and other similar institutions, besides other separate monographs, such as that on The Proper Names of Connecticut, and his interesting paper on the word Manito. This will be found in the first volume of Old and New. It is seldom that even so great a man as John Eliot has had a critic, student and friend so accomplished as Dr. Trumbull, willing to give so much time to the illustration of his work.

We can hardly doubt that a collection of the more important of these studies will be made and published, for such a collection is really necessary to the preservation of the history of the most remarkable event in American literature the first century after the settlement of this country by Europeans.

Williams's Key was printed in the year 1643. John Eliot had already begun to study the Massachusetts lan-

guage, and Williams's key was undoubtedly a help to him as he went forward. The language of the Narragansetts varies from the language of the tribes farther north by evident euphonic differences such as have been observed in other regions between northern and southern races. The special type of these distinctions is that *r* passes into *l* as you come south, and both these liquids seem to have slipped out among the more Southern tribes. As our southern friends today would say "befo' the wah," the Pequot of the year 1630 would say *ayum* for "dog," while he who lived by the side of the Merrimac would say *arum*, and would roll his *r*.

"Merrimac" was good Indian in the northern part of Massachusetts, but among the Narragansetts it would have become "Meyimac" without the rolling of the *r*, or possibly Mellimac. They pronounce their own name Nayagansett.¹

As early as 1654 Eliot printed at Cambridge a Catechism for Indian Instruction. In 1655, at the same press, his Indian versions of Genesis and the gospel of Matthew were printed. Before the end of 1658, translations of a few psalms in metre were added. But Mr. Trumbull says in his own essay, which I am simply abridging here, that if a copy of any of these early works of Eliot is still in being, no American collector has been fortunate enough to secure it. Abraham Pierson (or Peirson), the minister of Branford ["Braynford" and "Bramford"], in Connecticut, prepared a catechism in the

¹ After the reading of this Report, Vice-President Hoar said:—"What Doctor Hale has said of the tendency of the Indians in the Southern part of our country to suppress the letter *r* reminds me of the same tendency of our white brethren who dwell in those quarters. My friend Senator Jones of Nevada, one of the brightest and wittiest of men, came back to the Senate Chamber one day from the House of Representatives in great glee. He had gone over on some errand and was standing by the door, when a stranger, evidently from the South came up. They had a new doorkeeper, also from the South. The stranger asked: 'Is Senator Ho' of Massachusetts on the flo'?' 'Sah,' said the doorkeeper, 'I don't know. Go to the other do'.'"

Quiripi dialect in 1657, and sent it to England; but it was lost at sea, so that no edition of it was printed before 1659. Trumbull says of this, "The English translation is interlined throughout, and it is not undeserving of the study of missionary teachers, at home and abroad, as an example of how not to do it."

It was not till December, 1658, that Eliot had completed his translation of the whole Bible. The first sheet of the New Testament was in type before September 7th, 1659, and the New Testament was completed before September 5th, 1661, and the impression of the Old Testament had then advanced to the end of the Pentateuch. The title-page to some copies of the New Testament is therefore earlier than the title-page of the whole Bible. The Old Testament was completed, and the Indian Bible was finished, before the Commissioners met in September, 1663. The Corporation of the Propagation Society ordered a metrical version of the Psalms printed, which soon followed. With the assistance of John Cotton of Plymouth, Eliot was steadily correcting his translation, and in 1685 the second edition was published at Cambridge.

The complete literature of the language of our Indians is carefully described and commented on in Mr. Trumbull's invaluable paper in the Memorial History of Boston. One or two of the books are in the dialect of the Vineyard; but their peculiarities, Mr. Trumbull says, were gradually lost after the Indians learned to read Eliot's version of the Bible. They are interesting as illustrating the softening of articulation in the more southern districts.

We have in this library some curious manuscript memoranda of Indian writing of those days, which Mr. Barton will be glad to show to the gentlemen who hear this report.

The Bible was printed twice. Some of the Primers were reprinted. I think that the only recent reprint has been that of Edinburgh, by Eliot's kinsman, Andrew Elliot.

Cotton Mather pretended to some power in conversation in the Indian language. When questioning a bewitched girl he discovered that the devils who tormented her understood his Latin, Greek and Hebrew, but they did not seem to well understand his Indian. Trumbull says that the devils were not without excuse; for, judging from the specimen matter printed, Mather had not mastered even the rudiments of the grammar, and could not construct an Indian sentence idiomatically.

I infer from Mr. Trumbull's article that the last book printed in the Massachusetts language, while there was any popular use of such books, was a "Monitor for Communicants," by Cotton Mather, printed in 1716. As late as the end of the century, however, Rev. John Sergeant, the younger, who was a missionary among the Stockbridge Indians, published *The Assembly's Catechism* and Dr. Watts's *Catechism for Children* in their dialect of the Massachusetts language. A new edition of this was printed twenty or thirty years afterwards.

Within a few years some letters from Eliot and Mayhew in the curious collection in London of the New England Society have been brought to light, covering a period of more than fifty years. They give some details of the work of Eliot and his friends. They have been selected from the files of a correspondence between that company and their committee in Boston, which was made up from time to time from the more distinguished gentlemen here who were interested. None of them are so early as the letters of Eliot published by the Historical Society in 1834. The first is Eliot's first annual report of what seemed good promise at the beginning. Another of his letters sums up the ruin of his plans brought on by King Philip's war. There is a wretched postscript to the whole by Experience Mayhew, as late as 1714, describing an unsuccessful visit of his to Stonington and New London, in the vain hope of interesting the wrecks

of Pequots and Mohegans there. The volume adds fifty or more to the very scanty list of Indian names of men. There is not one woman alluded to among the converts in Massachusetts, and only one in Rhode Island. I hope that our associate, Mr. James Phinney Baxter, who has recently examined this curious collection in London, may favor us with some account of it.

THE Council felicitate the Society on our ability to make this great contribution to the literature of a subject for which the great work of Mr. Gallatin, published under our supervision, may be said to have opened the way. It would have been idle to attempt in this report any new review of the work of Eliot or of its results. It is, fortunately, quite unnecessary to do so, since it has been done so well by Dr. Trumbull. As our relations to what we have a right to call the half-civilized tribes of the Northwest become closer and closer, such a study as Dr. Trumbull made of the philological work of Eliot becomes more and more important. It is pity of pities that Mr. Sherman Hall and the other devoted missionaries who attempted the civilization of these Northwest tribes made no use of Eliot's work. It can hardly be believed that the language once spoken over half this continent is to be forgotten. On the other hand, it is probable that it will receive more and more attention. In such attention the master-work of Dr. Trumbull will be an invaluable help. When the Stockbridge tribe removed to the West, in 1822, John Sergeant the younger "endeavored to procure a quantity of Eliot's Indian Bibles for them to distribute."

After its publication, and in proportion as it is more and more widely known, we shall find that the enthusiastic study of this great language, which has been thought to be the language most complete, in a scientific point of view, of

all the languages known to man, will be pursued with new intelligence and ardor.¹

A few gentlemen and ladies interested in such study attempted last year, with the assistance of the *Sun* newspaper, to collect the Algonkin words now used, locally or widely, by the people of the United States. There are hardly seventy such words. Mocassin, wigwam, tomahawk, describing visible objects which never had any other name, are still used for such objects. Squaw, pappoose, and some other appellations of people, where English words are also used, are still understood; but *sketomp*, for man, seems to be forgotten. *Nuncomb*, for boy, has been used as late as the boyhood of this writer to designate a boy especially stupid. *Netop*, for friend, was used for a college chum in New Haven as late as the beginning of this century. It is desirable that this tentative list may be extended.

For the Council,

EDWARD E. HALE.

In the conversation which followed the reading of this paper, Professor Franklin B. Dexter vouched for the existence of the word *nuncomb* in Connecticut till a recent period. Mr. Baxter called attention to the word *hubbub*, in Wood's "New England's Prospect" (1635), as the word sung by Indians in a wild dance. *Hubub* appears in Spenser, in 1590,

"And shrieking Hububs them approaching nere,
Which all the forest did with horror fill."

And Milton uses the phrase,

"A universal hubbub wild,
Of stunning sounds and voices all confused."

¹ Here is a proper place to say that the admirable study of Eliot's Indian Bible and of his other work, referred to in the Proceedings of the Society for April last as marking an important part of Dr. Pilling's Bibliography, is the work of that careful student, our associate Mr. Wilberforce Eames of the Lenox Library of New York. Mr. Pilling gives full credit to Mr. Eames for his assistance.

The Indian game was played with bones and a platter or tray, and was accompanied with much noise and the shouting of "hub, hub!" or "Hubbub!"

Dr. Green called attention to the word *taushents* for a pet child. This appears in the Century Dictionary as *torshent*, abbreviated *torsh*, as "Local in the United States," and "of obscure origin." But Dr. Green referred to the Historical Society's Collections, first series, Vol. VIII., where at page 97 the word is referred to. The passage is in the life of Minot:

"The Indians of New England had, to express this relation, an appropriate word, which in the dialect of the Nauset Indians was *taushents*. It has been adopted by the descendants of the English in many parts of the Old Colony of Plymouth, and is applied as a term of endearment to the youngest child." Subsequent inquiry has proved that the word *taushents* is still used on Cape Cod.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society herewith presents his annual report, showing the receipts and expenditures for the year ending October 1, 1898.

There has been carried to the several funds for the past year five and one-half per cent. on the amount of same, October 1, 1898, leaving a balance to the credit of the Income Account of \$868.43.

The charges to the Publishing Fund have been larger than usual the past year, owing to the increased size of the Proceedings and the publication of the Account of the Bradford manuscript reception banquet. This last was largely provided for by special subscriptions.

The Treasurer would again call attention to the needs of the Librarian's and General Fund, the income from which is inadequate to pay the salaries and the necessary expenses. In order to meet this deficiency a part has been charged to the Collection and Research Fund, that fund having accumulated much faster than either of the others.

The total of the investments and cash on hand October 1, 1898, was \$131,248.07. It is divided among the several funds, the detailed statement of which is as follows :

The Librarian's and General Fund,.....	\$36,430.29
The Collection and Research Fund,.....	17,458.77
The Bookbinding Fund,.....	6,266.49
The Publishing Fund,.....	26,590.55
The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund,.....	9,720.54
The Lincoln Legacy Fund,.....	4,747.29
The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund,.....	1,107.06
The Salisbury Building Fund,.....	5,128.05
The Alden Fund,	1,017.76
The Tenney Fund,.....	5,000.00
The Haven Fund,.....	1,288.60
The George Chandler Fund,.....	568.58
The Francis H. Dewey Fund,.....	3,252.35
The George E. Ellis Fund,.....	11,863.31
	\$130,379.64
Income Account,.....	868.43
	\$131,248.07

The cash on hand, included in the following statement, is \$5,122.58.

The detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the year ending October 1, 1898, is as follows:

DR.

1897.	Oct. 1.	Balance of cash per last report,.....	\$2,933.22
1898.	"	Income from investments to date,.....	6,801.81
"	"	Received for annual assessments,.....	305.00
"	"	Life membership fees,.....	150.00
"	"	From sale of books and publications,.....	215.70
"	"	Mortgage notes paid,.....	16,000.00
"	"	Railroad bonds paid,.....	3,000.00
"	"	Subscription to Publishing Fund—George F. Hoar,	50.00
"	"	Sundry subscriptions to Publishing Fund,...	110.00
"	"	Stephen Salisbury for purchase of Stevens's Facsimiles,	50.00
"	"	George F. Hoar and Edward L. Davis,.....	50.00
Total,.....			\$29,665.73

CR.

By salaries to October 1, 1898,.....	\$3,631.97
Publication of Proceedings and Account of Bradford banquet,	1,544.70
Books purchased,.....	179.69
Incidental expenses,.....	320.57
For binding,.....	101.80
Insurance premium.....	60.00
For coal,.....	603.79
Invested in Stocks and Bonds,.....	17,106.94
Premium on Stocks and Bonds,.....	890.00
For Stevens's Facsimiles,.....	103.69
	\$24,543.15
Balance of cash October 1, 1898,.....	5,122.58
	<u>\$29,665.73</u>

CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

The Librarian's and General Fund.

Balance of Fund, October 1, 1897,.....	\$37,250.32
Income to October 1, 1898,.....	2,048.76
Transferred from Tenney Fund,.....	275.00
From Life memberships,.....	150.00
	<u>\$39,724.08</u>
Paid for salaries,.....	\$2,444.25
Incidental expenses, including coal,.....	849.54
	<u>\$3,293.79</u>
1898, October 1. Amount of Fund,.....	\$36,430.29

The Collection and Research Fund.

Balance October 1, 1897,.....	\$17,716.53	
Income to October 1, 1898,.....	974.41	
From sale of books,.....	50.45	
	<hr/>	
	\$18,741.39	
Expenditure from the Fund for salaries and incidentals,.....	1,282.62	
	<hr/>	
1898, October 1. Amount of Fund,.....		\$17,458.77

The Bookbinding Fund.

Balance October 1, 1897,	\$6,115.27	
Income to October 1, 1898,.....	336.34	
	<hr/>	
	\$6,451.61	
Paid for binding, etc.,.....	185.12	
	<hr/>	
1898, October 1. Amount of Fund,.....		\$6,266.49

The Publishing Fund.

Balance October 1, 1897,.....	\$26,384.60	
Income to October 1, 1898,.....	1,451.15	
Publications sold,.....	125.50	
Subscriptions to Fund,.....	160.00	
	<hr/>	
	\$28,121.25	
Paid on account of publications,.....	1,530.70	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1898,.....		\$26,590.55

The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund.

Balance October 1, 1897,.....	\$9,241.30	
Income to October 1, 1898,.....	508.27	
	<hr/>	
	\$9,749.57	
Paid for books purchased,.....	20.03	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1898,.....		\$9,729.54

The Lincoln Legacy Fund.

Balance October 1, 1897,.....	\$4,409.80	
Income to October 1, 1898,.....	247.49	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1898,.....		\$4,747.29

The Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund.

Balance October 1, 1897,.....	\$1,085.70	
Income to October 1, 1898,.....	59.71	
	<hr/>	
	\$1,145.41	
Paid for local histories,.....	38.35	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1898,		\$1,107.06

The Salisbury Building Fund.

Balance October 1, 1897,	\$4,861.66	
Income to October 1, 1898,	266.39	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1898,		\$5,128.05

The Alden Fund.

Balance October 1, 1897,	\$1,004.20	
Income to October 1, 1898,	55.22	
	<hr/>	
	\$1,059.42	
Paid on account of cataloguing,	41.66	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1898,		\$1,017.76

The Tenney Fund.

Balance October 1, 1897,	\$5,000.00	
Income to October 1, 1898,	275.00	
	<hr/>	
	\$5,275.00	
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,	275.00	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1898,		\$5,000.00

The Haven Fund.

Balance October 1, 1897,	\$1,238.96	
Income to October 1, 1898,	68.14	
	<hr/>	
	\$1,307.10	
Paid for books,	18.50	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1898,		\$1,288.60

The George Chandler Fund.

Balance October 1, 1897,	\$530.41	
Income to October 1, 1898,	29.17	
From sale of "Chandler Family,"	30.00	
	<hr/>	
	\$589.58	
Paid for books,	21.00	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1898,		\$568.58

The Francis H. Dewey Fund.

Balance October 1, 1897,	\$3,084.69	
Income to October 1, 1898,	169.66	
	<hr/>	
	\$3,254.35	
Paid for books,	2.00	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1898,		\$3,252.35

The George E. Ellis Fund.

Balance October 1, 1897,	\$11,195.56
Income to October 1, 1898,	615.25
	<u>\$11,810.81</u>
Paid for books,	7.50
Balance October 1, 1898,	<u>\$11,803.31</u>
Total of the fourteen funds,	\$130,379.64
Balance to the credit of Income Account,	868.43
October 1, 1898, total,	<u>\$131,248.07</u>

STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

No. of Shares.	STOCKS.	Amount Invested.	Par Value.	Market Value.
6	Central National Bank, Worcester,	\$ 600.00	\$ 600.00	\$ 870.00
22	City National Bank, Worcester,	2,200.00	2,200.00	3,300.00
10	Citizens National Bank, Worcester,	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,340.00
4	Boston National Bank,	400.00	400.00	349.00
6	Fitchburg National Bank,	600.00	600.00	900.00
5	Massachusetts National Bank, Boston,	500.00	500.00	375.00
32	National Bank of Commerce, Boston,	3,200.00	3,200.00	3,343.00
6	National Bank of North America, Boston,	600.00	600.00	540.00
15	North National Bank, Boston,	1,500.00	1,500.00	1,350.00
3	Old Boston National Bank, Boston,	300.00	300.00	330.00
24	Quinsigamond National Bank, Worcester,	2,400.00	2,400.00	3,360.00
46	Shawmut National Bank, Boston,	4,600.00	4,600.00	5,428.00
22	Webster National Bank, Boston,	2,200.00	2,200.00	2,200.00
31	Worcester National Bank,	3,100.00	3,100.00	4,500.00
	Total of Bank Stock,	\$23,200.00	\$23,200.00	\$28,185.00
50	Fitchburg R. R. Co.,	\$5,250.00	\$5,000.00	\$5,250.00
30	Northern (N. H.) R. R. Co.,	3,000.00	3,000.00	4,710.00
5	Worcester Gas Light Co.,	500.00	500.00	950.00
25	West End St. Railway Co. (Pfd.),	1,250.00	1,250.00	2,125.00
50	Washburn & Moen Mfg. Co.,	6,500.00	5,000.00	7,500.00
	BONDS.			
	Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf R. R.,	3,300.00	3,300.00	3,663.00
	Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R. Co.,	3,000.00	3,850.00	2,400.00
	Chicago & Eastern Illinois R. R. 5 per cent.,	10,147.50	10,000.00	10,200.00
	City of Quincy Water Bonds,	4,000.00	4,000.00	4,000.00
	Congress Hotel Bonds, Chicago,	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,000.00
	Lowell, Lawrence & Haverhill St. Railway Co.,	9,620.00	10,000.00	10,520.00
	Worcester & Marlborough St. Railway Co.,	3,000.00	3,000.00	3,120.00
	United States Envelope Co.,	5,300.00	5,000.00	5,300.00
	Wilkes Barre & Eastern R. R. Co.,	2,000.00	2,000.00	2,000.00
	Ellicott Square Co., Buffalo,	5,604.86	5,000.00	5,604.86
	Notes secured by mortgage of real estate,	35,150.00		35,150.00
		<u>\$125,822.36</u>		
	Deposited in Worcester savings banks,	303.13		303.13
	Cash in National Bank on interest,	5,122.58		5,122.58
		<u>\$131,248.07</u>	<u>\$89,100.00</u>	<u>\$141,103.57</u>

WORCESTER, Mass., October 1, 1898.

Respectfully submitted,

NATH'L PAINE,
Treasurer.

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that we have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to October 1, 1898, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched; that the securities held by him are as stated, and that the balance of cash, as stated to be on hand, is satisfactorily accounted for.

WM. A. SMITH,
A. G. BULLOCK.

October 17, 1898.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

SINCE my last report we have enjoyed the usual calm activity within our walls, but "The Annals of a Quiet Neighborhood" could hardly have been written with reference to our immediate surroundings. However, the stonework of the new Court House is approaching completion, and a return to more peaceful conditions may soon be expected. The anticipated loss of light proves to be most serious in our newspaper hall on the first floor of the Salisbury Annex, and to a lesser degree in the stack-room, and the introduction of electric light may become a necessity. The latest portrayal of our founder, Isaiah Thomas, has been purchased, framed and placed in the hall. As an elaborate work of art it is quite effective, but as a likeness it is weak and unsatisfactory. While the figure is drawn from the life portrait by Ethan A. Greenwood, the fact is not stated, presumably because some liberties with the original have been taken by the engraver. The framed figure, which is placed in a temple niche, is surmounted by the Thomas coat of arms, at the right and left of which appears *Antiquitates Typothetæ*, while on either side are busts of Johann Gutenberg and Benjamin Franklin. An elaborate scroll which depends from the frame bears the legend 1749-1831 | Isaiah Thomas Esq. | Printer Worcester Massachusetts | President of | The American Antiquarian Society | And Author of the History of Printing | Made for | The Society of Ichnophiles | New York | 1898. Designed | and engraved on copper By | F. S. King. A second recent reproduction of the portrait by Greenwood appears on page 171 of our associate John

Fiske's Critical Period of American History, published this year by Houghton, Mifflin and Company. It is a wood cut of a high order, in which the marked characteristics of the portrait have been strengthened. A spirited half-tone from the Greenwood—small but effective—may be found opposite page 44 in "A Centennial History of Morning Star Lodge, A. F. and A. M.," issued at Worcester in 1894. As Thomas was the first master of Morning Star, the square, compass, *etc.*, have been modestly introduced. The earliest use of this portrait appears to have been by Thomas, who some time after its publication inserted the portrait opposite the title-page of his own copy of his History of Printing in America, which was printed in Worcester in 1810. It is marked "Isaiah Thomas Esq. President of the American Antiquarian Society & Author of the History of Printing &c. Marchant from painting by Greenwood, Pendleton's Lithography Boston." Copies of the original—in oil—hang in the Masonic Temple, Boston, and in Masonic Hall, Worcester. Opposite the title-page of his own copy of the first edition of his History of Printing the author also inserted the plate marked "Henry Williams Pinx. J. R. Smith Sculp." It is possible that Thomas thus intended to indicate his preference for the Greenwood and Williams portraits. The original of the latter—for further reference to which see the librarian's report of October, 1895—has not yet been located. The masonic portrait so-called faces page 81 of *The Freemason's Magazine and General Miscellany*, Vol. 2, No. 2, for November, 1811, published in Philadelphia. It is marked "Doyle Pinx^t, W. R. Jones Sc." while below is engraved "M. W. Isaiah Thomas Esq. P. G. Master of Massachusetts: and Author of the History of Printing." The occasion of its use was the printing of "R. W. G. M. Thomas's Resignation Address G. L. of Massachusetts 1805." Mr. Thomas, who, as before stated, was the first Master of Morning

Star Lodge at Worcester in 1793, was also Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts 1803—1805 and 1809. I have not been able to trace the original portrait by Doyle, nor any other reproduction than that by Jones.

In volume one of Joseph T. Buckingham's *Reminiscences*, Boston, 1852, is a very strong—perhaps the most effective—representation of Isaiah Thomas. It was published by Charles C. Little and James Brown from a drawing by Hammatt Billings. The engraver was Stephen Schoff, who also engraved the striking portrait of Benjamin Russell for Buckingham's second volume. The Boston Directory of 1852 happily registers Billings as a "Designer" and Schoff as an "Historical Engraver."

A good etching from the marble bust of Dr. Thomas by Benjamin H. Kinney is in Hersey's republication of *Lincoln's History of Worcester*, published in 1860. The original—which is in our main hall—was ordered by the Society in 1859, and delivered the same year.

The last of the Thomas portraits which I name, is the miniature painted by Miss Sarah Goodridge and engraved by H. W. Smith for the second edition of our founder's *History of Printing in America*, which was published by the Society in the year 1874. It is generally preferred to all other portraits of the patriot-printer. His friend, the late Rev. George Allen, said to the writer, "All things considered, it should be known as the best likeness of Isaiah Thomas."

Brief references to the subject herein treated may be found in the librarian's reports of October, 1895, and October, 1896. The special interest in the indexing of portraiture has led him to submit these more extended notes. It is possible—and certainly most desirable—that all the originals mentioned may at some future day be found in our safe-keeping.

Gifts have been received from two hundred and ninety sources; namely, from thirty-three members, one hundred

and twenty-four persons not members, and one hundred and thirty-three societies and institutions. We acknowledge therefrom eight hundred and thirty-one books, twenty-nine hundred and seventeen pamphlets, nine bound and one hundred and eighty-five unbound volumes of newspapers, twenty-seven maps, ten broadsides, three photographs, three portraits, two coins, two seals, one medal, one tomahawk, and a collection of postage stamps. We have added by exchange seventeen books and three pamphlets, and from the bindery fifteen volumes of newspapers and thirty-seven volumes of magazines; making a total of eight hundred and eighty-five books, twenty-nine hundred and twenty pamphlets, twenty-four bound and one hundred and eighty-five unbound volumes of newspapers, *etc.*

I gratefully acknowledge to President Salisbury, Vice-President Hoar and Councillor Davis the receipt of volumes XXI.-XXV. of B. F. Stevens's "Facsimiles of Manuscripts | in European Archives | Relating to America | 1773-1783." They have, by request of the librarian, subscribed the five hundred dollars necessary to secure, as they have been issued, the twenty-five volumes which form the first series of these reproductions of civil, confidential, diplomatic and political correspondence, and other papers during the Revolution down to the Treaty which acknowledged the Independence of the United States. This work—which has been called "our greatest historical monument since Force's Archives, and altogether the stateliest in form"—required the use of nine thousand negatives, besides three thousand title-pages, *etc.* A recent communication from our associate says: "I regretfully find from increasing infirmities that I must stop with the first series, which includes a copious Index. I must devote the evening of my life to finishing my great Catalogue-Index of the large mass of manuscripts relating to America which I have been able to peruse—the public and

private Archives of England, France, Holland and Spain, from the Paris Treaty of Peace in 1783; a work upon which I have been engaged for about thirty years with a considerable staff of assistants, and the end of which appears to be within a reasonable distance of time. It is now being fair copied in about one hundred folio manuscript volumes. With the aid of this Catalogue-Index a younger, enterprising man can carry out the second, and quite independent, companion series of 'Facsimiles of Military and Naval Papers.'" The local coloring supplied by some of these manuscripts is suggested by number two of the first volume of the Facsimiles, which is a clearly written Addisonian specimen from the Auckland manuscripts at King's College, Cambridge, bearing neither name nor date. Its long, unpunctuated title follows: "General Reflexions & Remarks on the State & Disposition of the Country & People of New England & particular Descriptions of Worcester in the Province of Massachusetts Bay & other Parts of the four Provinces tending to furnish Ideas & Hints towards a Plan for its speedy Reduction to the legal Authority of Parliament by an Army of about 10 to 12000 Land Forces (marine Regiments included) & 4 to 5000 Canadians & Indians—assisted by 9 ships of the Line Frigates sloops and schooners of about 60 or 70 Tons Burden Mounting six carriage and 10 swivel guns each & manned with about 40 men officers included."

The descriptive portions of the paper indicate that it was prepared by a close observer, who was also an accurate delineator. I transcribe a few paragraphs which relate to the Society's domicile and its surroundings:

"Second part of the Proposed Premises towards a plan of operations &c. Having taken a cursory View of the Country & the local Circumstances of its inhabitants, as they apply to their military capacity & power—it will be necessary to give a topographical description of such parts as with the coasts and adjacent Rivers are fitted for offence

and defence & therefore usefully to be occupied by the King's Troops. Worcester in the county of Worcester is the place which is chosen for the magazines & Head Quarters of the Provincials; & it seems very much to answer the purposes of Security and convenience, & for collecting & distributing intelligence & assistance to all the parts of New England. The County extends over the whole Breadth of the middle part of the province from North to South, & between the Six maritime Provinces to the East & a Gore on Connecticut River on the West. The Town is about 50 miles from Boston westward & about 42 N : N : of W : from providence in Narragansett Bay In the N : W : parts of the Township of Worcester meeting with the Highlands of Rutland & Leicester, there are very Considerable Springs & Rivers, supplying others, which are navigable to every part of the New England Provinces.

" 1.st Quinnepuxet & Cedar R. falling in a N : E : direction into Nashaway R.—which falls after a long even Course into merimack R. at Dunstable in the Province of New Hampshire which empties itself into the Sea at Newberry a very great Seaport & Ship Building Town, receiving by this River vast quantities of ship & other Timber. On Nashaway R. lies the Townships of Rutland Holden, Lancaster, Bolton, Harvard, Groton & Dunstable, Townships generally Contain about six miles sq. which with allowances for swamp wastes &^{cc} may measure about 30000 acres—

" 2^d Quinsimagog Pond, Swift R. & Halfway R. Running in a S : E : direction to Blackstone R. which falls into Narragansett R. and this into Narragansett Bay at *Providence*, extending by Rhode Island to the Sea. The Townships are Worcester, Grafton, Sutton, Uxbridge, mendon, Attleborough & *Seakork* in Massachusetts; and Cumberland, Smithfield Providence & Warwick in Rhode Island Government.—

" 3^d Stony, Chestnut & French R. which fall in a South Direction, into Quenebaugh R. at *Norwich* in Connecticut both form the River Thames which Empties itself at *New London*, into the Sea in long Island Sound. The Townships are Worcester, Leicester, Oxford, & Dudley in Massachusetts Bay; Killingsly Woodstock, Pomfret, Plain-

field, Canterbury, *Norwich*, Groton, and *New London* in Connecticut Province

"4. Seven Mile R. falling in a S: W: direction, into Quibang R. & this into Chickabee R. called also the Elbows; which falls into Connecticut R. at Springfield, a large, populous & Centrical Town; hence it Empties itself in Long Island Sound at *Seabrook*. The Townships are Rutland, Leicester, Brookfield, Western, Kingston & Springfield in Massachusetts—E & W: Windsor, *Hartford*, Weathersfield, Glassenbury, Middleton, Hadham, E. Hadham, Lime Killingworth, & Seabrook in Connecticut."

Vice-President Hoar's interest in the details of library administration is indicated by gifts, large and small. Of the latter class we are thus allowed to preserve the three numbers of *The Youth's Companion* of March 10, 17 and 24, 1898, containing his "Life of a Boy of Sixty Years Ago"; and a copy of *The Journal of Education* of August 18, 1898, in which appears the first of a series of articles by the editor on the much sought subject of Massachusetts Indian Names. Unfortunately, such contributions are not likely to be reprinted.

Dr. Joseph F. Loubat has placed in the Spanish-American Alcove a reproduction of the *Codice Messicano Borgiano*. Like the *Codice Messicano Vaticano*, received from the same source last year, the form, color and binding of the original have been exactly secured at the charge of our associate.

Dr. William DeLoss Love has added to our college department, now in our stack-room, the Quarter Century History of the Class of 1873 of Hamilton College, of which class he is the secretary. As such material is largely autobiographical, it is used with more confidence than most of this class of literature otherwise obtained. We therefore urge its careful preservation with the catalogues, reports, periodicals, broadsides, and other issues which so fully portray the history and workings of our American schools of higher learning.

A gift from the children of the late Hon. John S. C. Knowlton of Worcester was accompanied by a note containing the following suggestive paragraphs :

"We would like to offer to the American Antiquarian Society several bound volumes of newspapers edited by our father. One is a volume of the *Chelmsford Phoenix* for 1825 ; and there are also three volumes of the *Lowell Journal* for the years 1827-1830. We should be glad to continue to own and keep them ; but, as that is impossible, it will be pleasant to know that they are still in the city which has been for so long time our home, and in which we shall always continue to take a sincere interest."

Col. Charles F. Morse has placed in the Civil War Alcove—at the request of the librarian—his "Letters written during the Civil War, 1861-1865." This volume of two hundred and twenty-two octavo pages was privately printed thirty-three years after the close of the war by one of whom Chaplain Alonzo H. Quint, D.D., in his "Record of the Second Massachusetts Infantry," says : "Either with the regiment or on staff of a general officer he was in every action of the regiment." Its value will still further appear when we consider that the writer of the Letters filled every regimental office from that of lieutenant to a colonelcy, in a regiment largely officered by other Harvard graduates of a high order. In our Proceedings of October, 1866, and again in those of April, 1887, appeals were made—though with little success—for soldiers' letters of 1861-65. Since our April meeting war with Spain has been declared and peace restored. While the details of this later army life have been unusually well preserved in the many field and camp letters furnished the press, it is hoped that it will be our mission to preserve many original letters relating to the war of 1898.

Mr. Robert C. Rockwell of Pittsfield, Massachusetts—in the wise distribution of historical material left by his father, the Hon. Julius Rockwell—has from time to time remembered this Society. His latest gift not only calls

attention to the temperance movement of sixty years ago, but also suggests its dignified and almost judicial character. Independence Day was thought especially appropriate for their larger gatherings; and the proceedings were often published and distributed in pamphlet form. Three of the signers of the invitation were members of the Council of this Society. The call follows:

WORCESTER, *June 9th, 1838.*

Dear Sir: The Friends of Temperance in this vicinity, believing that the cause might be greatly advanced by a public meeting of its friends, have made arrangements for such a meeting on the approaching fourth of July. The meeting is to be held in this town, and it is hoped will embrace individuals from every part of this County, and that gentlemen from other parts of the Commonwealth will be induced to attend.

In behalf of the Committee of arrangements we take great pleasure in requesting the honor of your attendance on the occasion.

We shall hope for a reply as early as your convenience will permit, and that we may rely upon your approbation of the proposed measure.

Respectfully your obt. servts.

EMORY WASHBURN.

THOS. KINNICUTT.

JOHN S. BUTLER.

ALFRED DWIGHT FOSTER.

JAMES ESTABROOK.

Mr. Alfred F. Simmons has made a large addition to our collection of American periodicals. The sources of such literature are none too numerous, and duplicates can always be used to advantage. We have received from Mr. Robert T. Swan, Massachusetts Commissioner of Public Records, a broadside, which has been hung in our hall, and is herein submitted for wider influence:

"TOWN RECORDS.

"The discovery, from time to time, among the effects of former town officers, especially of assessors, of town rec-

ords and papers which had been in their custody, makes it seem advisable to ask the co-operation of citizens in securing any such not in possession of the town. Many have, unfortunately, been destroyed through ignorance of their character or possible value. To prevent their further destruction, and to enable the towns to procure those now in existence, all persons having knowledge of any such records or papers are respectfully requested to inform the undersigned. Among the missing records and papers are valuation lists, those prior to 1821 usually being in small books without covers, about the size of a bank deposit book; treasurers' records and vouchers; and records of extinct churches and parishes. Annual returns of marriages made by clergymen to the town clerks should be among the papers once in their custody. Members of families of deceased town officers are especially requested to search for such records and papers, and to forward information if any are found. Any information bearing upon the old records will be a benefit to the town, and will receive due acknowledgment."

A large photograph of Franklin, recently obtained by exchange with Mr. Charles Henry Hart of Philadelphia, is marked "Benjamin Franklin. From the original painting by David Martin, 1767, bequeathed by Franklin to the State of Penna., and now in possession of Mr. Thomas McKean of Philadelphia." Replying to my query how this famous thumb portrait, so-called, could have passed from the State into private hands, Mr. Hart writes: "If you will read my monograph on Peale's original portrait of Washington, which you will also find in the report of the American Historical Association for 1896, pp. 189-200, particularly pp. 195-197, you will get an answer to your query 'How can this be?' 'Tis strange but true."

The Society's recent publication of the Account of the Part taken by the | American Antiquarian Society | in the Return of the | Bradford Manuscript | to America | is mentioned as a matter of record. It should be generally understood that it was published in a limited edition and

partly by private subscription. A few copies only remain, which may be ordered of the librarian. The death of our late honored associate, Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, Ex-Ambassador to the Court of Saint James, will remind those who were able to be present at the banquet, of his expressive earnestness and his tremulous voice when he said: "The incidents I have mentioned were pleasant incidents in the duties which occupied my time while in England. Of what I did there, and of what I tried to do, I shall not speak. The record is made up, and I shall stand upon it." This Society's interest in the recovery or discovery of the Bradford manuscript is of long duration. In the private journal of Mr. Christopher C. Baldwin, our third librarian, under date of April 16, 1835, is the following entry: "I went to Templeton today to see my Father, who has sent for me to visit him, he being sick. I went in a chaise. I took the road by way of Princeton, that I might visit Henry Prentiss, Esq., who lives in the edge of Hubbardston, next to Princeton. He was concerned in the settlement of the estate of the late Lieut. Gov. Moses Gill, and I wished to see him to ascertain whether he had not some of the manuscripts belonging to the Rev. Thomas Prince, the Historian. Gill's first wife was the daughter of Mr. Prince. Her name was Sarah, and she died in 1771, I think. She was the only surviving child, and all the books and papers of her father came into her possession. Gill was a very cautious, prudent man, and preserved everything; and at his death all the papers of Mr. Prince, with his books, had been kept. He, Mr. P., gave his Latin and Greek books to the Old South Church in Boston, and also his maps, charts and manuscripts, that were of most value. This I saw in his will, which was in Mr. Prentiss' possession. He was very rich, and his daughter received most of his estate. He owned large tracts of land in Princeton, Rutland, Holden, Hubbardston and Barre, in the county of Worcester, and also at

Rochester and Middleborough, in the county of Bristol, and in the province of Maine. I found Mr. Prentiss a very sensible and intelligent man. He is now sixty-eight. He was born at Berwick in Maine, where his father was a schoolmaster, who was a native, I believe, of Cambridge, near Boston. His father died young. Mr. Prentiss had no papers that belonged to Mr. Prince except deeds or some memoranda of property. These he showed me, and I spent three hours in examining them. I found nothing to reward me for my journey except perhaps the intelligent and interesting conversation of Mr. Prentiss. What I was in pursuit of more particularly was the MS. History of Plymouth Colony by Governor Bradford. Mr. Prince had this in his possession, and it has been said that it perished in the *gutting* Governor Hutchinson's house. Yet, as it has never been found, I entertained a sort of hope that I might find it at Princeton."

While it is our constant mission to furnish facts, it is also an occasional duty to expose fraud. It seems desirable to report a recent case of the latter class, undertaken at the request of one of our associates, and at his charge. The facsimile herein referred to is the one reproduced from our founder's copy of the *Massachusetts Spy* for May 3, 1775, and issued by its proprietors a century later. It will be remembered that Mr. Thomas carefully wrote on his copy, now preserved by our Society: "This is the first Thing ever printed in Worcester. Isaiah Thomas." One of the large editions of 1875 having drifted to a far country, was found by the reverend secretary of a State missionary society in a small town, in which the owner exchanged lumberman's supplies for cedar poles, posts and ties, hemlock bark and wood. Impressed with the apparent age and value of the stained newspaper in its double-glazed frame, he informed an eminent Professor of History, who enclosed the letter to your librarian asking him for the commercial value and a customer for this

rarity. I replied that the find was undoubtedly a facsimile of our original, though, unfortunately, it was not so marked. This reply brought the first letter direct from the secretary, who wrote: "Our friend, Prof. —, wrote you with regard to a paper which purports to be a copy of the *Worcester Spy*. Prof. — forwarded your letter to me. On further inquiry I am informed that this paper has been in the family ever since it was printed. The present owner is forty years old, and it was an old relic in her father's family. This would seem to indicate that it cannot be simply a facsimile. Can you give me any further information as to how to decide positively whether it is the original paper or a facsimile? In case it should prove to be the former, what is its commercial value?" The points of decision having been promptly presented, our correspondent replied: "May I trouble you once more? I do not understand why the sentence, 'This is the first Thing ever printed in Worcester,' written upon the paper in question, indicates that it is a facsimile. Nor do I understand the alternative about your founder's thus marking two copies. Please let me know what year the facsimile was printed. If it can be shown that this particular paper was in the possession of any one before that date, I suppose it must be an original copy. Any further information you may be able to give me will be gratefully appreciated." Both queries were answered in the affirmative, and, with original and reproduction before me, the case for the defendant was restated as follows: 1. The improbability of two copies having been marked by Thomas. 2. The difference in age and quality of paper. 3. The impossibility of the binder's trimming being exactly the same in two copies. 4. The fact that any intelligent photographer would know if the facsimile was made by the photo-lithographic process. The Professor retired early from the case, and the reverend secretary did not seek further light. I then suggested that the associate

referred to—whose collection of Worcester imprints is, perhaps, already unequalled—try to reach the thus far undiscovered owner of the supposed original. The former soon responded: "I have heard from the *Spy* out west. They are willing to sell it for \$100, and they are also willing to send it here for examination provided the charges are guaranteed. Mr. O. says that the family have had it since Colonial times; that it is in good condition, having been preserved between two panes of glass in a frame, and that at the bottom of the first page is written: 'This newspaper is the first Thing ever printed in Worcester. Isaiah Thomas.' It seems to me almost an impossibility that Isaiah Thomas should have written on two papers, and that it is probably an *unintentional* fraud. Still there is a possibility of its being true, and an examination and comparison with the copy in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society would be likely to reveal the truth. I write to ask if you think it worth while my offering to pay express charges there and return for the sake of locating the genuine or exposing the fraud? If worth while, would you be willing to receive it, and hold it for comparison, to protect the owner and myself at the same time?" Upon accepting the commission the owner sent to the librarian his only direct communication, as follows: "By request of Dr. — I send you by express a copy of the *Massachusetts Spy*, date May 3, 1775. The price is \$100.00, less expressage. You have privilege of examining." The parcel—which arrived soon after the letter—was marked "C. O. D. \$100.00." I declined payment, and reported to my client, who replied: "I did not agree to pay anything but the express, and have not decided to take the paper, even if it is proved to be genuine." The Express Company informed the owner, who consented to the opening of the box by the company's agent. This was done at the library in the presence of the representative of the Express Company, my chief assistant, and the libra-

rian, the original and a second copy of the facsimile being before the three for comparison. As it was perfectly clear to all that the framed newspaper is a nineteenth century reproduction of an eighteenth century newspaper, it was carefully reboxed by the agent, and—after four months of correspondence relating thereto—was returned to its owner, who has not yet acknowledged its receipt. In our associate's last letter upon the subject he says: "I enclose check for four dollars and forty cents for express on that which you so kindly exposed for me. So it is with life. The great unknown one day—the next of no value. Fortunately, blood will tell in the end, and true worth has its reward." No apology seems necessary for the length of this recital, for it points a much needed moral lesson. In this connection I am reminded of a remark by our associate, Mr. Benjamin F. Stevens, of London, who said to me at the International Library Conference last year: "I recall an incident connected with my last visit to Antiquarian Hall. Mr. Haven graciously introduced me as a buyer of early American imprints to a reverend gentleman who sometimes sold such material. He at once drew from his capacious pocket a rare tract, and, placing his hand affectionately upon the title-page, said 'this is one of a very few unique copies!'"

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,

Librarian.

Givers and Gifts.

FROM MEMBERS.

- BARTON, EDMUND M., Worcester.—Papers relative to the International Library Conference of 1897; and files of three magazines, in continuation.
- BOURINOT, JOHN G., LL.D., Ottawa, P. Q.—Dawson's "The Voyage of the Cabots."
- BRINTON, DANIEL G., LL.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—Five of his own publications.
- BROCK, ROBERT A., Richmond, Va.—Virginia newspapers containing articles by him.
- DAVIS, ANDREW MCF., Cambridge.—His "Brief of the State of the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England."
- DAVIS, HON. CUSHMAN K., St. Paul, Minn.—His address at the Laying of the Corner Stone of the Capitol of Minnesota, 1898.
- DAVIS, HON. EDWARD L., Worcester.—Seven books; fifty-four pamphlets; and one portrait.
- DEXTER, FRANKLIN B., New Haven, Conn.—His "Historical Study of the Powers and Duties of the Presidency in Yale College"; and his tribute to J. Hammond Trumbull.
- FOSTER, WILLIAM E., Providence, R. I.—His Twentieth Annual Report as Librarian of the Providence Public Library.
- FRANCIS, GEORGE E., M.D., Worcester.—Nine books; and sixty-one pamphlets.
- GILMAN, DANIEL C., LL.D., Baltimore, Md.—Two of his own monographs.
- GREEN, HON. ANDREW H., New York.—His Fourteenth Annual Report as Chairman of the Commissioners of the State Reservation at Niagara.
- GREEN, HON. SAMUEL A., Boston.—Three of his own productions; fifteen books; two hundred and seventy-eight pamphlets; two proclamations; one map; a collection of early newspapers; and the "American Journal of Numismatics," in continuation.
- GREEN, SAMUEL S., Worcester.—His "Use of Pictures in Libraries"; and his Annual Report as Librarian, 1898.

- HALE, REV. EDWARD E., D.D., Roxbury.—His address at the Dedication of the Sixth Meeting House of the First Parish in Dorchester, Massachusetts; twelve books; nine pamphlets; one bound volume of newspapers; and the United States Weather Map, in continuation.
- HOADLY, CHARLES J., LL.D., Hartford, Conn.—Two proclamations; and the Connecticut State Register and Manual for 1898.
- HOAR, HON. GEORGE F., Worcester.—His "Justice and Humanity, not revenge, the only Justification for War"; his "Rufus Putnam, Father and Founder of Ohio"; twenty-five books; four hundred and thirty-three pamphlets; twenty maps; two seals; one photograph; one broadside; and ten files of newspapers, in continuation.
- HOLST, HERMANN E. VON, Ph.D., Chicago, Ill.—one pamphlet.
- HUNTINGTON, REV. WILLIAM R., D.D., New York.—His "The Theocratic Republic."
- JAMESON, J. FRANKLIN, LL.D., Providence, R. I.—Papers of the Historical Seminary of Brown University, as issued.
- LEÓN, NICOLAS, Ph.D., Guadalupe, Mexico.—"Concilio Provincial Mexicano" IV.; and Gilberti's "Arte de la Lengua Tarasaca ó de Michoacan."
- LOUBAT, JOSEPH F., LL.D., New York.—Reproduction of the "Codice Messicano Borgiano."
- LOVE, REV. WM. DELOSS, Ph.D., Hartford, Conn.—Quarter Century History of the Class of 1873, Hamilton College, containing contribution by Dr. Love.
- MERRIMAN, REV. DANIEL, D.D., Worcester.—"The Nation," in continuation.
- MOORE, CLARENCE B., Ph.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—His "Certain Aboriginal Mounds of the Coast of South Carolina," etc.
- MORSE, EDWARD S., Ph.D., Salem.—His "Spiritualism as a Survival."
- PAINÉ, NATHANIEL, Worcester.—Twenty-three books; two hundred and eighty-two pamphlets; seven lithographs; five broadsides; one photograph; and seven files of newspapers, in continuation.
- PEET, REV. STEPHEN D., Ph.D., Good Hope, Ill.—The "American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal," as issued.
- SALISBURY, HON. STEPHEN, Worcester.—Eleven books; ninety-five pamphlets; and six files of newspapers, in continuation.
- UPHAM, HENRY P., St. Paul, Minn.—"The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," Vols. 19-28.
- WALKER, HON. JOSEPH B., Concord, N. H.—Six of his historical publications.

FROM PERSONS NOT MEMBERS.

- ABERCROMBIE, DANIEL W., *Principal*, Worcester.—The Annual Catalogue of Worcester Academy, 1898-99.

- APPLETON, DANIEL, AND COMPANY, New York.—"The Monthly Bulletin," as issued.
- BAILEY, ISAAC H., *Editor*, New York.—"The Shoe and Leather Reporter," as issued.
- BARTON, CLARENCE W., *Editor*, Ontario, Cal.—Numbers of his "Ontario Observer."
- BARTON, E. BLAKE, Worcester.—The "Record of Christian Work." as issued.
- BARTON, Miss LYDIA M., Worcester.—"The Association Record," in continuation.
- BENT, ALLEN H., Roxbury.—His "Walter Allen, of Newbury, Mass., 1640, and some of his Descendants."
- BENTON, J. H., JR., Concord, N. H.—His "What is Government Injunction? Does it exist in the United States?"
- BOSTON BOOK COMPANY.—"The Bulletin of Bibliography," as issued.
- BOYDEN, MASON H., Worcester.—The Specifications and Contract for building Antiquarian Hall, in 1852.
- BROOKS, Rev. WILLIAM H., D.D., *Secretary*, Boston.—Journal of the Annual Meeting of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Massachusetts, 1898.
- BULLARD, Rev. HENRY, D.D., St. Louis, Mo.—one pamphlet.
- BULLARD, HENRY N., Parkville, Mo.—His "Maximilien Robespierre"; and his Essay on the English Novel.
- CALDWELL, Rev. AUGUSTINE, Elliot, Me.—His "Hammatt Papers, No. 4"; and "Old Ipswich," compiled by Messrs. Caldwell and Dow.
- CANFIELD, Mrs. PENELOPE S., Worcester.—Eleven selected books.
- CARPENTER, Rev. CHARLES C., *Secretary*, Andover.—Three Andover Theological Seminary documents.
- CHASE, Miss SARAH E., Worcester.—Putnam's "Rebecca Nurse and her Friends."
- CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR WORLD PUBLISHING COMPANY.—"The Christian Endeavor World," as issued.
- CLARK, Miss EMILY A., Derry, N. H.—"A Record of the Chases."
- CORNISH, LEWIS H., *Editor*, New York.—Numbers of his "Spirit of '76."
- CURRIER, FREDERICK A., Fitchburg.—His "A Visit to the Wayside Inn."
- CURTIS, Hon. GEORGE M., New York.—His "The Bar of the City of New York."
- DAVIS, JAMES C., *Secretary*, Boston.—The Fortieth Anniversary of the Class of 1858, Harvard College.
- DEMENIL, ALEXANDER N., St. Louis, Mo.—"The Hesperian," as issued.
- DEVAN, Mrs. HARRIET B. S., Stamford, Conn.—"The Catharine Aiken School for Girls, 1898-99."

- DICKINSON, G. STEWART, Worcester.—A collection of postage stamps; and the Standard Postage Stamp Catalogues of 1897 and 1898.
- DICKINSON, MARQUIS F., JR., Boston.—A Tribute to Capt. Walter Mason Dickinson.
- DICKINSON, THOMAS A., Worcester.—A package of Massachusetts secret ballot envelopes of 1855-56.
- DODGE, JAMES H., *Auditor*, Boston.—His Report for 1897-98.
- DODGE, THOMAS H., Worcester.—"Genealogy of the Dodge Family of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1629-1898," Part 2.
- DRAPER, JAMES, *Secretary*, Worcester.—Annual Report of the Park Commissioners of Worcester, for 1897.
- FELT, CHARLES W., Marlborough.—Newspapers containing historical articles by him.
- FINANCE PUBLISHING COMPANY, St. Louis, Mo.—Numbers of "The Saint Louis Finance."
- FOX, IRVING P., *Manager*, Boston.—Numbers of "The Church Militant," to complete file.
- FROWDE, HENRY, London, Eng.—"The Periodical," as issued.
- GALLINGER, HON. JACOB H., Concord, N. H.—His "American Tariffs from Plymouth Rock to McKinley, and proposed Tariff revision."
- GARRISON, W. H., New York.—His "A Brief for the Cigarette."
- GAZETTE COMPANY.—The "Worcester Evening Gazette," as issued.
- GINN AND COMPANY, Boston.—Three pamphlets.
- GOODWIN, WILLIAM B., Lowell.—Historical Sketch, List of Members, etc., of the First Baptist Church, Plymouth, Mass.
- GRAY, EDWARD MCQ., New York.—Two of his poems.
- GREENLAW, MRS. LUCY H., Cambridge.—Numbers of "The Genealogical Advertiser."
- GREGSON, REV. JOHN, Worcester.—Three books; three hundred pamphlets; and twenty-nine volumes of newspapers.
- HARLOW, FREDERICK B., Worcester.—One book.
- HASSAM, JOHN T., Boston.—His "Early Recorders and Registers of Deeds, for the County of Suffolk, 1639-1735."
- HATHAWAY, SAMUEL, Enfield, Conn.—A patriotic poem, by him.
- HAVEN, MRS. SAMUEL F., Worcester.—Eighty-four pamphlets; one map; and "The Outlook," 1894-1896.
- HILL, BENJAMIN T., Worcester.—One hundred and seventy books; and six pamphlets.
- HOLBROOK, LEVI, New York.—"The Discovery of America by J. Cabot, in 1497, and Voyages of the Cabots."
- HOLCOMBE, WILLIAM F., M.D., New York.—"A tribute to Hon. Andrew H. Green."

HOPPIN, CHARLES A., JR., Worcester.—A collection of American amateur newspapers, 1874-1888.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY, Boston.—"The Bulletin," as issued.

HUMPHREY, GEORGE P., Rochester, N. Y.—"American Colonial Tracts Monthly," No. 1.

JONES, ALFRED, Worcester.—Two silver coins of the eighteenth century.

JONES, CHARLES E., Augusta, Ga.—His "A Family Reunion."

JONES, REV. HENRY L., S.T.D., Wilkes-Barre, Pa.—Numbers of "The Parish Guest."

JUDKINS, WILLIAM L., Clinton.—Seven books; thirty-one numbers of "Leavitt's Farmers' Almanac," 1851-1892; and one iron tomahawk.

KELLOGG, J. H., M.D., *Editor*, Battle Creek, Mich.—Numbers of "Good Health."

KITTREDGE, The Misses, Ottawa, Kan.—Forty-five early text books.

KNOWLTON, The Misses, Needham.—"The Chelmsford Phenix," 1825; "Merrimack Journal," 1826; and "Lowell Journal," 1827-1830.

LATCH, EDWARD B., Philadelphia, Pa.—His "The Mosaic System and the Codex Argenteus."

LEE, FRANCIS H., Salem.—A souvenir medal of Queen Victoria's sixty years' reign.

LEIPZIGER, HENRY M., *Supervisor*, New York.—Report of free lectures in New York City, 1898.

LIBRARY WORLD COMPANY, London, Eng.—Numbers of "The Library World."

LIPPINCOTT COMPANY, J. B., Philadelphia, Pa.—"The Bulletin," as issued.

LIPPITT, MRS. ELIZA W., Washington, D.C.—A collection of manuscript and printed material relating to Rev. Samuel Gilman of Charleston, S. C.

LONGMANS, GREENE AND COMPANY, New York.—"Notes on Books," as issued.

LOWDERMILK, WILLIAM H. AND COMPANY, Washington, D. C.—"The Washington Book Chronicle," as issued.

MCGLENEN, EDWARD W., Boston.—His "The Sudbury Fight, April 21, 1676."

MCINTIRE, CHARLES J., Cambridge.—His sketches of Hon. John Read and of Chief Justice Charles Morris.

MACMILLAN COMPANY, New York.—"Book Reviews," as issued.

MESSINGER COMPANY, Worcester.—"The Messenger," as issued.

MOONEY, RICHARD H., *Editor*, Worcester.—"The School Register," as issued.

- MORRIS AND WILSON, Minneapolis, Minn.—Their "Cumulative Book Index," for June, 1898.
- MORSE, RICHARD C., *General Secretary*, New York.—"Year-Book of Y. M. C. A. of North America," for 1898.
- MOWER, MANDEVILLE, New York.—New York newspapers containing historical articles by him.
- NEW YORK EVENING POST PRINTING COMPANY.—"The Nation," as issued.
- NICHOLS, J. R., Salt Lake, Utah.—Newspapers containing articles by him.
- PALMER, MRS. CHARLES FOLLEN, New York.—"Inebriety, its Source, Prevention and Cure."
- PEÑAFIEL, ANTONIO, *Directeur*, Mexico, Mex.—Four of his Statistical Reports.
- PERLEY, SIDNEY, Salem.—Numbers of "The Essex Antiquarian."
- PIETTE, EDOUARD, Rumigny, France.—An Ethnographical Study.
- POMEROY, JAMES E., Worcester.—Numbers of his "Voice of Spring."
- RANCK, SAMUEL H., Baltimore, Md.—His "Need of Additional Copyright Depositories."
- RICE, GEORGE M., Worcester.—"Souvenir of Massachusetts Legislators, 1898."
- RICH, MARSHALL N., *Editor*, Portland, Me.—"The Board of Trade Journal," as issued.
- RIORDAN, JOHN J., *Superintendent*, Worcester.—His "Statistical Report of the Evening Schools, Worcester, Mass., 1897-98."
- ROBINSON, HON. CHARLES, Lawrence, Kansas.—His "The Kansas Conflict."
- ROBINSON, MISS MARY, Worcester.—Forty-three pamphlets; and two files of magazines, in continuation.
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INITIATIONS INTO ADOLESCENCE.

BY G. STANLEY HALL.

AFTER finishing a book soon to be published on adolescence, its physiology, diseases, crime, psychology, *etc.*, it seemed to me that it would be a matter of interest to bring together some description of the way this important epoch of life had been treated by savage and civilized man. I have found a vast mass of material, but no one has ever attempted before to collate any part of it. Its importance is however obvious when we reflect that education, wherever it has had a natural and indigenous origin, always begins at the dawn of adolescence in such celebrations as I try to describe, and should extend up toward the university and downward to the kindergarten in almost exact proportion as civilization advances. My intention has been to collect all the available materials and literature, and to correspond as widely as possible with representative men in different countries, and then to embody in a simple description a composite photograph of the procedure. In its entirety and exactly as I give it, the initiation occurs nowhere, but every step and item is of great importance somewhere.

This part of the subject naturally falls under five heads, I. Savage rites; II. Greek and Roman forum and other athletic ceremonies; III. Church initiation; IV. Conversion; V. general philosophic or liberal education from fourteen to twenty years.

I select here a typical group of closely related forms with

many variations, one found among a number of Australian tribes called Burbung or Bora, as follows :

Nearly every savage tribe has some more or less stated and formal initiation to pubescence. In an opening in the woods, a round cleared space of 80 to 90 feet in diameter is marked by a groove in the soil. In the centre is a short pole, to the top of which bushes and emu feathers are tied. From this circle a track about four feet wide runs several yards into brush and scrub. First beside this path is a hole three feet by eighteen inches to represent the place where a girl must sit during her first menstruation. A few yards further is a human figure and an emu life-size cut in the ground. Next come two spiral strips cut in a tree and other zigzags to represent lightning, then a fire which is kept burning during all the days of the ceremony, and a gigantic human figure twenty-one feet long, the dent of whose fist in the ground where he fell is always made beside his figure by puddling clay. This figure represents Baiamai the culture hero, who slew Dhurmoolan, an awful being with a voice like thunder, by whom boys used to be taken to the brush to be instructed in the customs, laws and traditions of the community that they might take part in councils and do all the duties of tribesmen.¹ Each boy, it was said, he cut up, burned, formed the ashes to human shape and restored to life, except one upper front tooth, which he kept, and the loss of which was a sign of initiation. It was found out, however, that he bit out the tooth and often devoured a boy. So, after killing him, Baiamai put his voice into the trees, from which it could be charmed into bull-roarers made from their wood. Further along this walk is a tree with an imitation of an eagle's nest, figures representing the sun and moon, cut large through the bark to the white, an immense fabulous snake-like monster fifty-nine feet long, four little mounds

¹ R. H. Mathews, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. XXIV., pp. 411-427; XXV., pp. 297-330; XXVI., pp. 272-285, 320-340.

of earth making a square, with native weapons stuck in them for decoration, and between these, four seats made of saplings dug up and their roots formed to a seat stained with human blood and their stems inverted in the ground, while turtles, iguanas and fish, pointed up and down, carved on tree trunks with other mystic lines and patterns, complete the scenes for this long walk, which is terminated by a screen of boughs.

Early in the spring two messengers are sent to invite the neighboring tribes. They carry kilts and bull-roarers, arrive at the camp about sundown, when the men come home. A council is held at which the invitation is presented and discussed and word sent to the next camp. They all muster so as to arrive on the prepared ground together and are ceremonially received in the circle, sometimes two or three weeks are spent before the arrival of the last contingent. There is much marching, stamping on and beating the ground with resonant pandamelon skins and other performances for several days. Finally all assemble, the men painted in full savage regalia, tramping and waving their arms or dancing a corroboree, and the women throwing leaves at them. Sometimes the men represent dogs running after each other, kangaroos, or parody an emu hunt, and the wizards perform their mummeries. Recent initiates are taken over the walk, and all the devices of the sacred ground, where they had been inducted the year before, are fully explained to them. During the night bull-roarers are sounded and the boys are told that the dreadful Dhurmoolan is coming for them the next morning. At dawn all assemble in the circle, each tribe distinct, the boys to be initiated, naked, sitting on bark back of the circle, looking at the earth, each with his sister near by and her husband, who acts as the boy's guardian during the ceremony. The two latter paint each boy all over with red ochre, put pipe marks on his breast, swan feathers in his hair and gird him with a band with four

kilts depending representing a man's dress, and his head is bound with two bands. The headsman then shouts, "He is coming, lie down." All the women and boys are then securely covered with blankets, and men stay to watch that they do not see. A group of men advance from the sacred path beating the ground with sonorous pieces of bark, tramp around, sound the bull-roarer and with a great noise throw brands near the women and children to make them think Dhurmoolan tried to burn them. Each guardian then catches his boy under the arm and leads him along the path, all the men following with terrific din. They are then taken a few miles away, seated and given advice on the conduct of life and on the coming ceremony, when the blankets are removed from their heads. Here they are kept two or three days, watched and taught, and join the men for the first time in hunting. Every night the men steal off and make a great noise, pretending to drive off the giant who seeks to burn the boys. Meanwhile those in camp form a yard shaped like a horseshoe and thickly walled with boughs, and here on a platform opposite the opening they await them. When they arrive each boy gets on the shoulders of his guardian, and the sisters or mothers spirt pipe-clay into their faces. After a night here, four days more are spent in the brush, and they are still further instructed in the tribal ordinances and taught songs and dances which women and the uninitiated never know and which it is unlawful to hear or teach elsewhere. Each boy is given a new name, known only to the initiated, and each animal is given a secret name, and there are many ceremonials and sham fights, pantomimes and trick magic, leaping on the four mounds, running among the inverted roots or saplings above described, shouting the names of other bora grounds, squatting in black paint and with horrid grimaces, long and silent gazing at the feet, tableaux often disgustingly obscene, songs and dancing, during all of which the boys are not allowed to question or speak, and

thus by these and other devices are well seasoned to fear. At the last afternoon the boys' heads are again covered with blankets and a big fire is kindled where they are told they are likely to be burned. Then the blanket is taken off and the boys are shown the men with bull-roarers fumigated, informed that Dhurmoolan is only they, and his story is told, the rites explained and death threatened for any revelation of what they have learned. They are told that when they marry it must be according to the totem laws, which are explained. All the symbols of every object beside the path and the rites are explained. Formerly human ordure was eaten, a tooth extracted, and the hair cut.

The ceremonies differ in detail among different tribes. In one form of the ceremony the novitiates, when taken away from their mothers and relatives, are made to believe that the giant has slain them all, while mothers loudly lament that the young girls may think the boys are all slain. The boys are initiated into many forms of gross obscenity. Instead of a blanket over his head, the novice may have to sit and walk all day with his head and eyes bent down so low that he faints on being allowed to straighten up after dark. In the bush the boy may be required to go off and sustain himself by hunting alone. The mode of death threatened for revealing what is seen or heard, or of speaking of or letting women know of the bull-roarer, differs, as does the mode of impressing the form and meaning of the figures cut in the trees or on the ground. If a tooth is removed the boy's feet are confined in a hole in the ground. Their hair may be singed and their bodies painted white, so that their mothers cannot recognize them. The animal dances vary, and the camp is often daily split into small groups. There is a wide field of exceeding difficulty yet to be explored before it can be known just what the novices are taught and what is the esoteric significance of these mysteries. Great precautions are taken that

none but the initiated shall ever penetrate them. Many ceremonies are according to a minutely prescribed ritual, and on the other hand the programme is often made up anew each night for the next day.

The Old Testament tells us little concerning the special training of adolescents. When the open vision had been sealed up because of the wickedness of Israel, the office of prophet was first established in the youth Samuel, who was thrice called in the night, foretold the swift destruction of Eli and his house, and became the pioneer and in a sense the founder of the school of the prophets in which the ancient Hebrew spirit reached its highest expression. The picture of Jesus in adolescent years, discussing the highest themes in the temple with the doctors, suggests at once the care of Jewish training and the characteristic gravity of the soul at this age to fundamental and religious and philosophical questions and insights.

While the Jews have always attached the greatest importance to the early training of youth in their sacred writings,¹ the oldest form of confirmation, the Bar, Mitzvah, or son of the commandment, did not become current before the fourteenth century, but is still observed by the majority of Jews the world over.² Up to the age of thirteen, the father is responsible for his son's acts, but now by this ceremony, he attains his religious majority. In a special form of benediction the father renounces or transfers responsibility from himself to the child. The ceremony is simple. The Sabbath after his thirteenth birthday, the youth appears at the reader's desk, wrapped in his talith,

¹ See titles on the History of Education among the Ancient Hebrews in my *Bibliography of Education*, pp. 6 and 7.

² I am chiefly indebted for this account to Rabbi G. Gottheil, of Temple Emanuel, New York, and also to Rabbis J. M. Wise and D. Philipson, of Cincinnati, and Rabbis I. S. Moses and J. Stolz, of Chicago, C. Fleischer, of Boston, and others, and to a somewhat copious literature chiefly of brief articles most of which they have named, and also to many manuals in current use.

and pronounces the ritual benediction of the prayer book. If he is a student of the torah or law and is advanced enough, he reads a few chapters in Hebrew and the prophetic portion of the day, and if a student of the Talmud, he discourses on some knotty point of his own selection, either at the close of the service in the synagogue or at home afterwards in the presence of the Rabbi. In any case he then becomes a member of the congregation, wears his own phylacteries at morning service, and may be called to the desk to read the law or say the benediction. Girls attain their legal majority a year earlier; but although carefully trained, the event is marked by no ritual. The age and the rites are based on oriental ideas and conditions.

This, however, all the reformed and many conservative Jews now regard as a soulless, worn-out tradition of rabbinism, and hold that the age should not be fixed, but depend on the capacity of the child and should be generally later, setting thirteen as a suitable minimum age. The new forms of confirmation were first practiced at Cassel in 1810 and have since spread, for several decades not without much opposition as a servile imitation of Christianity and foreign to the spirit of Judaism. At first the new ceremonial was performed not in the synagogue, but in the school-house; not by the rabbi but by the teacher; and on boys only, and was first performed in America by Dr. Max Linienthal in New York, in 1846.¹ It is now not a ceremony but a kind of official conclusion of the training of the Sabbath-school, the first public religious act of the child, inducting him to full and complete membership of the synagogue and to a religion that is not mere legalism, a ceremony of acts, but "a religion of the spirit whose mission is to realize the prophetic ideals of one God and one mankind." It is thus an impressive ceremonial,

¹ See Dr. David Philipson, "Confirmation in the Synagogue," Cincinnati, 1890; also, Rabbi J. M. Wise, "Essence of Judaism."

whereby the confirmants make a self-actuated profession of belief and declare their purpose to uphold the principles of Judaism.

The earlier stages of preparation for confirmation are represented by graded classes, held on Sabbath mornings and sometimes during week days, generally limited to children of members of the congregation, who enter at from eight to ten years of age. Each of the four or five grades in the best Jewish schools has its own room, the children are marked and promoted from one section to another, pass oral and sometimes written examinations, and in all other respects the methods and principles are those of the public schools. Part of this time is devoted to the Hebrew language as a bond uniting a dispersed people with one another and with its antiquities. The rabbi himself commonly devotes much attention to the school. Sometimes substantial prizes are offered to stimulate competition. The first year's work in the best schools is largely the biographies of the heroes of the Old Testament, the history of which is followed. The last year or two is devoted to past Biblical history, mainly of the Jews, but including Christianity and Mohammedism and incidentally considerable general European history through the Christian centuries, with some attention to secular Jewish literature. The Old Testament is taught intensively and well, but mainly as literature, and the chief services of the church are also taught in the Hebrew language. The relative absence of dogma is a chief feature of the work. The chief doctrines taught are God, his unity, wisdom, goodness, justice and fatherhood; man's duty to confess, obey and love him; the immortality of the soul, and duties to our fellow-men, to self and country.

Confirmation classes are formed, a few months before the ceremony, of children whose mental and moral maturity is deemed sufficient. Here, besides a general review, the higher meaning of the chief movements of Scripture

is impressed, and also the nature of Abraham's call; the significance of Moses's life and legation; the message of the prophets; the idea of revelation; the meaning of the Jewish idea, its relation to the future; the festivities and the Ten Commandments and passages of Scripture and ritual are memorized; and then, sometimes after a special examination, the postulants are ready for the ceremonial. These months are a season of probation and any serious misconduct is followed by relegation to the next lower class.

The day set apart for the ceremony of confirmation is the Feast of Pentecost, on which the synagogue commemorates the revelation of the law on Sinai, and also the establishment of the covenant of Israel with God to be his chosen people. Confirmation is treated as a renewal of that covenant. The children come and sit with their parents during a special service considerably varied in different synagogues. Later they pass to the vestry, and file in with the Rabbi and school officers with music. The sacred scroll of the law is taken from the tabernacle and read. Impressive responsions, prayers, exhortations and sermon, and sometimes flower offerings symbolic of those of slain victims upon the altars of old, and then with benediction and chant, the purpose of which is to confirm the ancient vow of Horeb to serve God alone, the children are returned past the open ark one by one to their parents, who are told to lay on their heads the hands that toiled for and nursed and guarded them through infancy and illness, in sacred blessing. This, in the services where it occurs, is perhaps the most touching and impressive of the year. The afternoon is sometimes spent with orphans in the asylum, for one or more of whom perhaps each class had assumed the responsibility where they were encouraged to express the first fruits of the new life and feelings of the day in some act of charity, perhaps making presents of dresses like their own so that the difference between poor and rich is no longer seen, *etc.*

These ceremonials have occasionally of late suggested to some the dangers of pomp and display, and have evoked protests that this is not an entertainment or exhibition, with brilliant receptions, vulgar display of presents, and extravagant dress. Such perversions seem, however, to be exceptional, and the predominant purpose is to work on the inner and not the outer sense, to appeal to the heart, and to start religious currents in the life and mind. Vows at this tender age are generally disapproved. No creed is formulated, for Judaism is the "least dogmatic of all religions"; but the higher vocation of man is to be felt and striven toward, as toward a dim and distant goal. While this ceremony is not passed even by all the children of the congregation, it is earnestly advocated for every Jew by birth, who has not apostatized by deliberate choice.

In recent years post-confirmation classes for further work are often formed for still older children. It is felt that while childhood is receptive and credulous, and puberty is a period of doubt and reaction, that there is a higher and later standpoint of ripe, reasoned and settled conviction beyond cult and form, and that it is a mistake to leave children in the "*Flegeljahre*," when not only doubt, but temptation is strongest. Such classes already exist in some places as an integral but kind of post graduate department of the Sabbath School. Here the history of other ancient oriental nations is studied, with something about antiquities and excavation, some philosophy of religion and comparative religion, Milton and modern Jewish literature, with a view to counteract the crude infidelity which in our age is so often rankly rife in callow adolescents.

The Lutheran, the mother of Protestant Churches, and also the largest of them all, claiming seven million adherents in America and fifty million in the world, confirms over 300,000 children a year in Prussia alone, and expects all Lutheran parents to coöperate in the preparation

for this rite. Save in a few essentials, the polity of the church varies widely; the Scandinavian organization being episcopal, the German consistorial, and the American synodical; and the age, preparation and details of confirmation also vary much. The Lutheran ideal is the Bible in the vernacular actively taught and hymns fervently sung in every household, especially with children. Piety is first of all a family matter. This church for the first time in history sought to bring each individual into immediate personal relations with the divine. In its service, preaching became again very prominent, the congregation took active part in worship, especially in song. Its liturgy is regarded as a form, unchanged for a millenium, by which communion with God is sought as a bond between the Christian past, present and future; between the church militant and triumphant, visible and invisible.

The Lutheran children do not look forward to conversion. If they have been baptized in infancy and daily nurtured, they must not be assumed to be unregenerate but as already in a state of grace. The germs of a spiritual life were early planted and have grown with their growth, and they need no violent change or drastic religious experience. Religion is a growth, not a conquest; but adolescence is the critical season of development, during which special care is needful. Even confirmation is not indispensable, and although it has spiritual sanction and is almost a matter of course is not authoritatively enforced.

In Europe confirmation at fourteen or fifteen is the rule, as it is wherever there are good parochial schools to look after both preparatory and subsequent training. Where these are lacking, as they still generally in this country are, where there are yet but about 3,000, the age is commonly from sixteen to twenty. It is preceded by one or two winter courses of instruction by the pastors, who sometimes hear the catechumens in a Sunday-school class by themselves, with extra work outside for from four to six months

for one or two years, with from one to three sessions weekly, some rules prescribing one hundred hours in all. The essential subject matter is Luther's small catechism, which is chiefly an exposition of the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the sacraments, and the Augsburg confession, which is the oldest Protestant creed. Lutheran and general church history are often added, doctrinal, devotional, and ecclesiastical matter are frequently dwelt upon in the manuals most in use. The form of instruction is catechetical by questions and answers, and considerable verbal memorizing is required, but the pastor seeks chiefly to reach the heart.

The Lutheran Church re-discovered the Bible, causing a renaissance of its study, and reversed former methods by making the sacred book, and not the church and its institutions, basal; and in its teaching no religious body insists more strongly that Scripture contains the very words of God, or is more impatient of the higher criticism. Luther at Worms, with his hand on the open Bible and saying, "Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise, God help me, Amen," which Froude calls the finest scene in modern history, fitly became the Spiritual Father of a church which has sought to mould its creeds, theology, liturgy, hymns, and life more closely after the Bible than any other; can accept no theories of a fallible authenticity of its divine oracles, nor a human and merely exemplary saviour; is proud that it has no heresy trials, although originating in the same fatherland where most heresies have sprung. With this cardinal principle, we should expect great stress to be laid upon direct Bible teaching. While this is done more than in the Catholic or perhaps even Anglican preparations for first communion, it is mostly by way of memorizing proof texts for sacraments and creed.

Toward revelation the chief Lutheran doctrine is faith that makes for justification and not reason that makes sceptics. Faith, the mightiest of all words in the soul's

lexicon, is the key to man's lost paradise ; it conditions and is larger than conduct ; is the source of all the authority of conscience ; the chief of all the duties and has done all the real miracles in history ; is the best criterion of the vigor, health and maturity of the soul, and man's only possible ground of salvation. Faith enlarges the soul of the individual to the dimensions of the race, enabling it to be a citizen of all times and a spectator of all spiritual events, and is the organ by which we see and apprehend, not facts of sense or proof of intellect, but the true mysteries or sacraments of instinct and feeling. By it Christ's propitiatory and vicarious sacrifice is imputed to us.

* The focus of the Lutheran theology is the doctrine of communion that Christ's body and blood are, as the Augsburg confession says, "truly present under the form of bread and wine." Some manuals for first communion teach that the divine elements are invisible, or inseparable yet unmixed with the actual food elements, or that the latter participates in the former as Plato made real things participate in ideas or inhere, as the school-men made attributes inhere in substance ; the union is called not carnal but sacramental, or say that there is not a real change but a means of change, while the doctrine of both trans- and con-substantiation are rejected. Faith is said to appropriate the passion and merits of the divine sacrifice in an inexplicable way.

Instruction especially preparatory to first communion is also given concerning the church festivals as Luther especially advised, viz., Christmas, Circumcision, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension and Pentecost, St. Stephen's Day, and October 31st, which is the day when Luther nailed up his ninety-five theses. There are also lectionaries for minor festivals, and of saints in the Lutheran Christian year to bring the biographical element to pedagogical efficiency, and confirmation day, which is on Palm Sunday. All Lutheran churches hold confession to be a fit preparatory

discipline for first communion. This is not imposed as a necessity, but taught as a privilege, is general rather than explicit and detailed, and all sins need not be enumerated. All Lutheran pastors can give absolution for confessed sins, but this is not absolute, only exhibitory. The disciplinary value of this is high; it relieves the conscience and evokes advice and comfort where most needed. Luther places these rites next to the sacraments themselves.

Confirmation being preparatory to first communion, there is usually a public examination of the children held in the church immediately preceding the ceremony, or the Sunday before, in order to see if even the least gifted have been trained to enough knowledge of the fundamental doctrine of the church to partake of the sacraments properly. They stand before the altar, girls in white and boys in black, and are addressed by the pastor; then after the Lord's Prayer the confirmants are asked to renounce the devil and fleshly lusts and accept the Apostles' Creed. They assent to this and vow to remain true to God, the church and its doctrine, and the congregation unite in solemn prayer for them. They then kneel at the altar and the pastor places his right hand on the head of each, invoking the fear of God and hope of eternal life; they are then exhorted to partake of all the blessings of church membership and renew and assume for themselves the obligations of their baptism. Scripture by the congregation and a benediction conclude the service, after which each child is given a certificate or diploma of confirmation as a memento.

The Lutheran Church has only lately begun the special work for young people after confirmation. In New York City the "Young People's Union" was founded about ten years ago for this purpose and in the western part of the State associations for young men have been extending for some years. These are now united in the Luther League

of that State with its own journal of that name. In Pennsylvania the Luther Alliance, and among the Germans, the Young Men's Associations and the Young Ladies' Societies, are inter-church organizations for the same end. Elsewhere central associations are formed. A National Union, of which all these are members, is now formed. The problems of this church for older adolescents are somewhat unique, and few religious bodies have so suffered from proselyting, which has been a spur to this new effort.

Confirmation by first communion is required of all children of the Episcopal Church in England and America. Girls are rarely confirmed under twelve or boys under fourteen, and the average age is probably a year or more older. It is one of the most solemn duties of parents to bring their children to what is one of the central rites of the church. Both the official requirements and the ceremonies, as found in the prayer and service book, are simple and brief, so that what may be called the minimum of both preparation and the initiation ceremony itself are somewhat slight and formal. This not only leaves room for a wide range of individual practice, but all the degrees of difference between the extremes of high and low church views are expressed in the many manuals and guides for confirmation.

The order of the church demands only the memorizing of the creed, Lord's Prayer, Ten Commandments, and the shorter catechism. The latter sets forth that the sponsors at the baptism in infancy also gave the child its name, promised that it should renounce the devil, worldly pomp, and sinful lust, believe the articles of faith, keep God's will and law. These vows the child now assumes for himself with solemn affirmation. In twelve questions and answers, the nature of the two sacraments necessary to salvation by baptism and the Lord's Supper are set forth. The minister of every parish is required to instruct and

examine on these essentials, which are often greatly amplified by those who devote themselves to this work with zeal.

The order of confirmation requires the presence of the bishop, before whom, as he sits near the Holy Table, the candidates stand. The preface stating the purpose of the rite is first read while the congregation stand. The minister then presents the children and the lesson is read from Acts on the gift of the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands. The solemn question is then put by the bishop: "Do ye here, in the presence of God, and of this congregation, renew the solemn promise and vow that ye made, or that was made in your name, at your Baptism; ratifying and confirming the same; and acknowledging yourselves bound to believe and to do all those things which ye then undertook, or your Sponsors then undertook for you?" and the momentous words, "I do," are pronounced audibly by every candidate. The bishop's prayer that follows is for the daily increase of each of the gifts of the Holy Ghost, after which he lays his hands upon the head of each, saying: "Defend O Lord, this thy Child with thy heavenly grace; that *he* may continue thine for ever; and daily increase in thy Holy Spirit more and more, until *he* come unto thy everlasting kingdom. Amen." After this follow the collects and benediction. It is earnestly expected that every newly confirmed person shall attend the Lord's Supper without delay.

At the high church extreme, the instruction for first communion is elaborate and chiefly ecclesiastical, the manuals prescribing a knowledge of the seven daily offices of the psalter from matin to compline and some historical matters; but especially and in great detail the liturgy as celebrating the Eucharist, which is the chief act of worship because it commemorates the sacrifice of Christ, which is the central fact in Christendom. Unlike the Roman Church the modern English tractarian invites a high degree of metaphysical activity, to which the mind of bright adoles-

cents is often so prone, on the part of the new communicant. "It is well," says Ewer,¹ "for the first class to understand distinctly what the doctrine of transubstantiation is as distinguished from trans-accidentation, and to know why as Anglican Catholics we decline to admit its truth." Hence it is explained at length that Christ is not impanated in the sacred species. His body, soul and divinity are not to be divided, as by the Roman theory of communion, in one kind; but are wholly present in the bread and wine, although their *res ipsissima* is not present under the outward form, the accidents of which remain unchanged. The presence is real and objective, not local, but supra-local. While the phenomenal color, form, taste and smell, and weight of the bread and wine remain unchanged, the nominal thing in itself of the holy emblems is not absent, but actually although mystically present. Water must be always mingled with the wine to symbolize the union of divine and human. While the body assimilates natural food, the process here is reversed, and the recipient is himself assimilated and transformed into the higher divine life, and the self of Christ is identified with our own.

The liturgy, which, like the Roman, constitutes the august rite of mass, is traced back to the apostles and represents the perpetual obligation, and is at the same time historically commemorative both of the Last Supper of our Lord, and of the later stages of his life, his death and his ascension. When the celebrant enters, he may meditate of Jesus' entrance into the garden; when he bows over his secret, he may think of Jesus falling on his face in prayer; when he salutes the altar, of the treacherous kiss; when the sacred vessels are unveiled, of Jesus spoiled of his garments; at the prayer, of Jesus scourged; at the larabo, of Pilate washing his hands; when he kneels, of Jesus falling

¹ Manual of instruction for classes preparing for Communion, page 24.

under the cross; at the hymn, of his death; at the Our Father, of his resurrection; at the *gloria*, of his ascension; and at the benediction, of the descent of the Holy Ghost. In the service something goes up to God, though our thanks be no more than the burnt offering of a grain of chaff, and something descends from God to man; for the Eucharist is a fountain of grace. To eat and drink unworthily and without discernment is damnation. We must therefore lift up our hearts and hunger for the meat that perisheth not. We were grafted into the true vine in baptism, but now the intusseption is complete, and every scion shoots as with spring-tide.

While the Greek Church permits only leavened, and the Roman only unleavened bread, the Anglican Church allows either. The communicant may stand or kneel, but never sit; must, as in most of the churches since the apostles, partake it only fasting, that it may sensibly affect body as well as soul; must receive the bread in the hollow palm, supporting it with the other and forming a cross; consume the smallest particle to avoid desecration, and offer some form of solemn and adoring salutation. The priest only can place the elements on the altar, because it is a sacrificial act and cannot be properly undertaken by either the sexton or a woman. An odd number of collects should be read, because the Lord's Prayer has an uneven number of petitions, the pro-anaphora must be said on the epistle side of the altar, and the protasis must commemorate some special attributes of God, and the apodosis must ask a special blessing for the exercise of the same attributes.

Careful self-examination, repentance, new resolutions, and the cultivation of faith and charity, and sometimes even penance should precede. Afterward communion ought to be partaken at least thrice yearly, and some partake weekly with advantage. Spiritual, as distinct from actual or sacramental communion, can be more frequent.

The former is like opening a door from a dark into a light room, the latter is like bringing in the light. The former is the slow rise of a tide keeping pace with a river and damming it so that it rises higher and sets back; the latter flows up and flushes the river as with a tidal wave and with complete intermingling of waters.

Confirmation is one of the seven sacraments of the Catholic Church by which the Holy Ghost is received and which it is a sin for any parent to neglect, and in which centres the very heart and soul of the best that is in Catholicism. It is also often called a mission, and its inspiration in most Catholic treatises on the subject is directly traced to the sayings of Jesus: "Suffer little children to come to me and forbid them not for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven"; "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings God hath ordained praise"; "Except ye be converted and become as little children ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven"; "I thank thee, O Father, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent and hast revealed them unto babes"; "Whoso shall receive a little child in my name receiveth me"; "Woe to him who causeth one of these little ones to offend, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck and he were drowned in the depth of the sea"; "Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones, for X"; "Their angels do always behold the face of my Father who is in heaven." The divinity of childhood as suggested in such passages is interpreted by the church to imply a somewhat mystic power of deep internal appropriation of symbols, rites, and even dogma, more akin to Wordsworth than to the modern methods of secular pedagogy.

The age of confirmation differs. In Italy, where the mind develops very early, the lowest age at which it may be received is fixed at seven. In France and Belgium, children cannot be confirmed before ten. In this country,

eleven or twelve may be called the minimum age. There must be no time lost with the children. Early impressions sink deepest. As soon as they are able to receive the Eucharist with a fair degree of appreciation, the sacrament should be administered. Indeed, the priest, who alone has the power to admit, while having some discretion, is generally thought negligent if children of sixteen or seventeen in his parish are not confirmed, except for special cause. Stated preparation is prescribed for deaf mutes and even for the feeble-minded, for whom a so-called "fool's catechism" of the simplest and most essential truths is provided. While those who do not honor their parents, refuse to attend mass, eat flesh meat on Friday, steal or are unchaste, should be kept waiting lest they profane the holy table. Childish lies, obstinacy, or lack of devotion should not bar them from a chief source of help against their faults, which might be augmented by delay.

The essential preparation for first communion and confirmation is a knowledge of the catechism. In insisting upon this as basal, the voice of the church has been practically unanimous from the time of Origen and the famous catechetical school of Alexandria, and from Augustine, who consecrated the first years of his episcopate to composing his treatises on catechizing, down to Fénelon and Bossuet, and even to the present time. While there have been periods of decline, and eminent prelates have sometimes failed to see its dignity and importance, men like Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris, found in catechizing children the chief source of comfort in their declining years, and by a decree of the Council of Trent every pastor was ordered to administer the catechism for children with care, at least on Sundays and other holy days. This was speedily ratified and detailed by provincial councils and synods throughout the world. Cardinal Bellarmine devoted himself with ardor to this work in person. St. Ignatius bound himself with a vow to this

office, and each Jesuit priest still acts for forty days as catechist, when he begins his charge. Xavier, too, thus began his great mission; and Romilion, founder of the Ursulines, devoted himself to it. The work was reformed in the seventeenth and in part recreated in the nineteenth century, but the catechetical traditions have been strong and constant, and there has always been a body, never so large as now, of devoted nuns and priests who, as Plato's Republic first suggested, renouncing family ties, have turned that same rich and deep tide of affection, mostly spent on spouse and offspring, to this holy apostolate of childhood and youth, as their sweetest and dearest life-work in a way that has not only supplemented, but quickened, instructed, and elevated parental love, and helped to build up the holy city of man-soul in the heart. It is to this long-circuiting and sublimation of the sexual and parental instinct that I ascribe the entirely unique character that pervades the labor and writings of the great child lovers in Catholic Christendom, and which merits the reverent and prolonged attention of all who study other systems than their own to learn their strength and their virtue rather than to confirm old prejudices by listing the more superficial defects, perversions and failure to realize ideals.

The most indispensable requirement for confirmation in the Catholic Church is the catechism; and this must be learned with great verbal accuracy, because it is the standard of religious knowledge. It contains sublime answers, that children can be made to feel the sense of, "to every question of interest to man." It is a high philosophy of life, so fit and admirable that not one syllable of it must be changed, although it is seasoned with much of explanation and illustration. It is often begun festively, and the work is interposed with song and story. By the "billet" system children sometimes appear dressed as angels, and recite the answers as if they were just

revealed from heaven. The best catechetical tradition of the church has been carefully preserved, and is even now being developed more vigorously than for some centuries. There are several Catholic catechisms, but they differ only in the amount of matter included, ranging from elementary work containing a few topics, to those of Deharbe, Jouin, Gaume, and Schouppe, which are for the last year of study or for the post-confirmation classes, now strongly advocated, and often formed. The catechism of the third plenary council of Baltimore is the American standard, and is a pocket volume of seventy-two pages. First are ten chief prayers, to which some would devote the entire primary year. The chief topics in order, taught by questions and answers, are: the end of man, God, unity and trinity, creation, first parents, the fall, sin, incarnation, redemption, the passion, death and ascension, the Holy Ghost, the church and its marks, each of the sacraments in detail, *viz.*, baptism, confirmation, eucharist, penance, unction, holy order and matrimony. Then follow mass, prayers, each of the Ten Commandments in detail, the last judgment, hell, purgatory and heaven. Sometimes the catechumens are stimulated by marks, rank, prizes, examinations and charts, the bell and blackboard, and the vast repertory of the many thousand lives of the saints, those arsenals of virtue, which the Bolandists have for centuries devoted themselves to writing, the best of which are often calendared, one or more for each day in the year, are sometimes utilized. The central theme of catechetical inculcation and also of early influence of the church is sin and the divine and human instrumentalities by which its results are removed. Confirmation is a renewal by children of the vows made for them by others in infancy at baptism, which meant purification from ancestral sin.¹

¹ See "A Catechism of Christian Doctrine," prepared and enjoined by order of the third plenary council of Baltimore: Boston, Mass., p. 73; "An Explanation of the Baltimore Catechism," by Rev. T. L. Kinkad: New York, p. 393; "Nouvelle Ex-

This work is done less comprehensively than in countries where there are no parochial schools, and it must be limited to Sunday. Often the work is more or less graded.¹ When the work of the regular teachers approach completion, special confirmation classes are formed of those thought fit, and the priest takes the children for a few months of review, and more intensive and extensive instruction, often twice a week. Just preceding the rite itself, as a special preparation for first communion, comes the retreat by which children are withdrawn into the sanctuary of the soul, and which seeks for a season of from two to four or five days to snatch them from the outward life and from association with other children, and bring them face to face with God and self, and to impress them with the sense that something serious and momentous is transpiring within. The catechism has been learned, and the soul is tender and ripe for the deepest impressions as never before or after. It has many varieties, but in a true retreat, by a good leader, the children devote the best part of the morning, afternoon and evening to receiving the strongest impressions of sin, death, salvation and judgment, but without undue fatigue or fear. Prayers, admonition, meditation, and sometimes the noting of their impressions and experiences on individual books (a method said to be full of suggestion for the instructors and of great present and even greater subsequent value to the child, in keeping alive the freshness and purity of first religious emotion),

planation du Catechism de Rodez," par M. Noel: Paris, p. 556; "The Ministry of Catechizing," by Mons. Dupanloup: New York, p. 540; "Instruction for First Communicants," by Rev. D. J. Schott: New York, p. 288; "Premières communicants en Retraite," par M. Himonet: Meuse, 1880, p. 280; "Catholic Faith and Practice," by Rev. A. G. Mortimer; "Le pasteur des petits Agneaux ou cours d'instruction relative à la première communion," par L'Abbé Laden: Paris, 1881, p. 448; "The Child of Mary," a manual of prayers and instruction for first communicants: New York, p. 543; "Neo-Confessarius," J. Reuber, S. J. Retistinae: 1870, p. 359; "First Communion," by Father Thurston: 1896, p. 495.

¹ See interesting discussion in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*. "The Scope and Organization of the Sunday School and the Relation of the Parish to the Sunday School," by M. J. Lavelle: Oct., 1896, and Aug., 1897; "How should we conduct Sunday Schools?" by A. A. Bamberg: Oct., 1897.

special hymns, the sentiments of which are impressed and explained beforehand, carefully selected, and told stories of saintly heroes of virtue, and allegories are all directed to produce a silent revolution of the soul or a veritable conversion. They are told that Jesus is now passing, knocking at their hearts, nearer than ever before or after; that they must choose between good and evil, and declare eternal war with sin in their hearts. The exercises begin Sunday and last till confirmation day, which is Thursday. The battle with sin in the soul becomes most intense on Tuesday, and especially in the afternoon, when sometimes the crucifix is draped in black and death is impressed as the doom of all, and there are tears and warnings lest each child may not make a true communion, and the sermonettes to them are the most austere and penitential. The suffering and death of Christ are made objective, vivid and impressive; and the sentiment of pity, which, deepened to pathos, is one of the most powerful sentiments of the soul, which after the Emperor Otto's death prompted many to slay themselves for sheer compassion, the church knows best how to utilize for good. The director is sad and overwhelmed, lest their hearts be not really humbled, broken, contrite. Eternal salvation is at stake and the horror of a sacrilegious communion must be deeply felt. Each child files up and kisses the crucifix; but at the evening service after all have received absolution, all is joy and the service is beautiful and grand. Past sins are pardoned and they, then and there, begin a new life. Something divine has passed over the soul and they are restored to goodness.

Just before the ceremony of confirmation every child must make a general confession, covering all it can recall of its past life. Confession is usually the Catholic child's first personal contact with the church, and is commonly advised as early as seven or eight, because he can then sin and repent. While he must rather die than betray the

secrets of adults, a good confessor must keep the confidences of this tender age also strictly inviolate, and may be a beneficent spiritual father of childhood if he has the rare gift of keeping in sympathetic *rapproch* with it. Always, and of course especially now at this chief confession of a lifetime, he will strive, first of all, while exerting the utmost care to ask no questions that may suggest error or sin not previously known, to encourage each child to unburden his conscience as honestly and unreservedly as possible. To acknowledge a fault is to get it outside the better, inmost self, and begin to loosen a burden, to moult the old *ego*. If frank, the besetting sins are seen and the process of alienation begins. Real regret is almost sure to follow, and care is taken that it be poignant, but not excessive or morbid, for remorse, always a feeling of doubtful utility, is not for this age. Wrong is deplored, because not only odious to a sinless Heavenly Father, but as in the face of infinite goodness and love towards each person. After dealing discreetly and tenderly with the nascent conscience, and judging considerably causes and occasions of error, and generating not only repentance but good resolution, penances are imposed. These are sometimes a given number of repetitions of prayers, learning hymns, refraining from dessert for a time, a brief daily season of self-communion, acts of self-sacrifice or service, that the fresh impulses to right may find some expression before they fade. Penance, too, must be administered with great wisdom and adaptation to the nature, needs and surroundings of the individual child. Lastly comes the priestly absolution from past sins, and the candidate, pure and white of soul indeed, is ready for the ceremonial sacrament.

The day of first communion and confirmation, on which children are to receive God in the Eucharist, to first taste the bread of angels at the divine banquet of paschal communion, makes the epoch when God takes possession of

their chastened souls. The ceremonial is a very special one for church and family. It must be brilliant, and with much outer pomp. Synods have declared that it must be "celebrated with all possible solemnity," for children's senses are at their keenest, and they need external show. After final instruction concerning their part and bearing during the ceremonial, they enter the church in solemn procession and kneel in a line, the girls in white as a symbol of their new sinlessness, on the left of the sanctuary, and the boys, in their best and darkest clothes, on the right. There are sometimes certificates of confession. There are veils suggesting betrothal to Christ and the church, candles reminiscent of the catacombs, where the church was cradled, and symbols of the true light of truth, their very wax, according to some liturgists, being an allegory of the virginity of bees and of flowers, and the flame of both the glory and suffering of Christ, and the altar, which has always been a table on a tomb.

Only a bishop can administer confirmation, and he makes episcopal visitations to each parish, at intervals varying somewhat with its size for this purpose. The pontifical vestments are the mitre or duplex crown; the mozetta, symbolizing the light on Moses' brow when he came from Sinai; the amice, or allegorical shield; the tunic, which recalls the seamless robe woven for Jesus by his mother Mary, and which was not rent by the earthquake of the crucifixion, and for which the soldiers cast lots; the cincture of continence and self-control; the stole, since the eighth century representing immortality and always to be put on with a stated prayer; the cope, the significance of which has been lost; and he carries the crosier or pastoral staff, the symbol of his authority.

He lays aside his mitre and turning from the altar raises his hands in benediction. He then explains the nature of the sacrament and invokes all to make good use of its graces, and prays from the ritual that the Holy Ghost, the

descent of which is the chief and central end of the ceremony, may rest upon the *confirmandi* as at Pentecost, with all its fulness of gifts. Then approaching the first boy in the line, he dips his right thumb in a golden vessel held by a ministrant containing chrism of oils and balm, the consecration of which by the bishop forms one of the ceremonies of Holy Thursday, and anoints each on the forehead to indicate that he must openly profess and practise the faith, never be ashamed of it, and die rather than deny it, in the form of a cross, saying, "*signo te signo crucis et confirmo te chrismate salutis in nomine Patris, et filii et spiritus sancti.*" Then, making the sign of the cross over the person, he gives him a slight blow on the cheek to suggest that he must be ever ready to suffer all things for the sake of Christ, saying at the same time, "*pax tecum.*" The assistant wipes the oil while the bishop passes to the next. Like baptism, confirmations call for sponsors, but of late in America it is customary to have but two, a male adult for all the boys, and a female for the girls. The sponsor stands behind and lays his hand on the right shoulder of each during this rite.

While this ceremony is often performed with low mass and hymns, it is better with the choir and organs of high mass, and comes after the three *kyries*, the *gloria in excelsis deo*, and *credo* with the offertory and preface, sometimes the *veni creator spiritus* is here sung, and then after the *sanctus*, and the elevation of the sacred Host and the consummation of the eternal miracle of transubstantiation, the acts of confirmation are recited by the children, who at the supreme moment go forward and partake of the blessed Eucharist, receiving God into their hearts entire, although under but the one form of bread, when the *agnus dei* is sung. Sometimes another mass of thanksgiving is celebrated by another priest immediately afterward. The catechists then lead the children out of the church, where their parents await and embrace them with tears, while

priests and teachers return sadly to pray alone before the deserted and silent altar. Often they are sent out later in the day to do works of charity, while the dew of consecration is fresh on their souls.

Many accessories are modified, and in large places supplementary services are held in the evening. Vespers are intoned with responsions, and after the *magnificat*, a sermon is addressed to the children admonishing them to renew their baptismal vows, and perhaps the formula of consecration is recited by boys selected beforehand, and all are formally recommitted to their parents, who are charged to keep them as pure and religious as at that moment. Souvenirs and often symbolic presents are given and there may be supplementary services next day. A tastefully illustrated diploma or certificate, picturing the ceremonies of baptism, first communion, and confirmation is given.

The young communicant has now received the baptism of fire, as formerly of water, and is under renewed and greatly increased obligation to observe fasts and festivals, to frequent confessions, which every good Catholic must attend at least annually, and is in a position to receive by grace the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, which are, wisdom, understanding, council, fortitude, knowledge, piety, and fear of God, that he may bear in their due season the twelve fruits of the spirit, which are, chastity, joy, peace, patience, longanimity, goodness, benignity, mildness, fidelity, modesty, continency and chastity, the names of which have been memorized in early childhood, are illustrated later in Bible stories and lives of the saints, and if the proper stage of higher scholastic study is reached still later are found to be the basis of instruction in the systematic theological ethics of Aquinas.

Although to receive it with the consciousness of unforgiven sin would be a sacrilege, and because for its worthy and fruitful reception the subject must be in a state of grace, and although confirmation and the work of the

Sunday School, all of which leads up to it, is the palladium of the faith which no child of Catholic parents must omit, there is a growing sentiment, especially in this country, that effective as all this is, the children must not be left at the dawn of adolescence without further guidance, and hence in many places catechisms or societies of perseverance have been instituted where studies of the ecclesiastical year, church history, selected points of canon law, hymnology, written accounts of festivals are pursued, a better understanding of the orders, institutions and rites of the church is given and the novitiates engage in works of beneficence and additional retreats, while some have lately advocated so great an innovation as Sunday School libraries and urged that whereas the church has hitherto been far more prominent than the Scriptures, a graded course be conducted in first hand study of both the Old Testament and the New, which are usually reserved from direct use by children, at least till these post-communion classes which should be attended till marriage. The age of temptation to sin, it is well said, is not ended but just beginning, and the influence of religion so well inaugurated should be sustained till character is settled. Sometimes these are called Christian academies, and there are first aspirants, then candidates, and then full academicians, a title especially prized in France, and there are conferences, debates and honors, and various confraternities, sodalities and clubs. Precedents of these abound, for St. Sulpice, St. Thomas, St. Borromeo, St. Vincent de Paul, and many others were devoted to this work in the past and young people attended up to the age of twenty or even twenty-five.

In 1884 the three hundredth anniversary of the foundation of a society of the annunciation, which has multiplied in all Catholic lands under the title of Sodalties of the Blessed Virgin,¹ was celebrated. These are for adolescents

¹" History of the Sodalties of the Blessed Virgin Mary." Boston, 1885, pp. 243.

and there are branches for either sex.¹ The papal bull creating them refrained from prescribing details of either plan or purpose, so that there are many local differences. Their general purpose is to quicken piety, charity and personal purity of heart and life by increasing devotion to the Holy Mother who aids them to form their hearts day by day to a more perfect likeness of her divine Son. They are especially designed for youth from fourteen to twenty; but there are branches for older youth, as in colleges, and for children who are younger. Constant war against passion, an annual retreat, self-examination, cheerfulness, temperance and religious offices are prescribed, and they have a special devotional manual and litany.

In answer to a request for information concerning the age of conversion kindly inserted for me in the leading weekly papers of the Methodist, Baptist, Congregational and Presbyterian denominations, several score of replies have been received containing individual opinions, statistics of single churches, results of inquiries made at educational institutions and at religious meetings. The following are representative. Revivalist Dwight L. Moody writes that he thinks most conversions occur between the ages of 10 and 20; that he has noticed no difference in age between the sexes, but that nearly all the members of the Northfield School are converted before they enter. Bishop D. A. Goodsell writes that it is his custom, on crowded occasions of admission to full conference membership, to ask all converted at or under 15, ministers and laity, to rise. "The proportion varies but slightly in different parts of the country among whites, about three-fifths of all present rising at this call. I then ask those converted between 15 and 20 to stand with them. There are then few left. Recently in Newark and Philadelphia in audiences of 7,000 to 8,000, this preponderance was

¹ "Sodality Directors' Manual," by Rev. Father F. Schouppe. Boston, 1882, pp. 442.

maintained with great unanimity." Rev. E. E. Abercrombie writes that at the Holyoke Conference held in April, 1893, in an audience of five hundred Christian men and women, a similar test showed that about two-thirds were converted before 20. Revivalist Edwin P. Hammond writes, "I frequently ask audiences to testify at what age they were converted, and I find that most of them became Christians before they were 20."

Evangelist George F. Pentecost, now of Yonkers, N. Y., has kept no statistics, but writes, "in an experience of thirty years of pastoral and evangelical work my observation has been that three-fourths of all the conversions occur between the ages of 12 and 20, the proportion of male to female being about two to three. Comparatively few are converted after thirty years and beyond that period the number falls off very rapidly. My further experience is that the best after results in life and service are found in those who have been converted early." H. K. Carroll, of the *Independent*, thinks that "a large majority" of conversions occur "before or soon after fifteen." Dr. J. L. Hurlbut, who has a wide knowledge and experience in the Methodist Episcopal Church, writes, that in his opinion, "far the larger number profess Christ under 20 years of age, a smaller number between 20 and 30, and a very small number between 30 and 40." Editor J. M. Buckley, of the *Christian Advocate*, who has knowledge of the very rich literature of the Methodist Church, which has always paid great attention to the conversion of children, writes, that "all our ministers, except a very few, were converted before they were 20, and the large majority of them before they were 18." Evangelist M. S. Kees often takes tests which show that "the great majority" of converts are between 10 and 20.

President Thwing, of Adelbert College, a few years ago addressed a letter, asking the age of conversion and admission to the church of each composite member of the

American Board of Foreign Missions, an exceptionally representative body of Christian men. From one hundred and forty-nine replies it appeared that twenty-nine were converted "very young"; twenty-one between 8 and 12; twenty-six between 12 and 15; and one hundred and thirty-two before 20. At a large meeting Evangelist B. Fay Mills asked all who had been converted under 20 to rise and over eleven hundred rose. The call for those converted between 20 and 30 brought one hundred and eighty to their feet; between 30 and 40 there were thirty-five; between 40 and 50, fourteen stood; between 50 and 60, there were eight. He writes that not only by far the most, but the most active, Christians are converted in the teens. At a recent Sunday-school convention at Hillsdale, Michigan, ninety-eight workers were found to have been converted at or before 12; forty-one, between 12 and 20; thirteen, between 20 and 40; and two later.

Spencer¹ states that out of every thousand cases, five hundred and forty-eight are converted under 20; thirty-seven, between 20 and 30; eighty-six, between 30 and 40; twenty-five, between 40 and 50; three, between 50 and 60; and one, between 60 and 70. Rev. Thomas Simms, of South Manchester, Connecticut, writes, that at a session of the New England Conference, Rev. C. M. Hall found, as a result of a census of two hundred clerical members of that body, that one hundred and seventy-three of them were converted before 20 years of age; eighty-nine, before 15; and seventeen at or under 10; and the average for all being a trifle over 15 years. Dr. R. E. Cole, of Oakland, California, ascertained the ages of those converted during a three weeks' series of revival meetings in that place as follows: One hundred and nine, from 5 to 10; three hundred and seventy-two, from 10 to 15; two hundred and eighty-three, from 15 to 20; sixty-eight, from 20 to

¹ Sermons by Rev. Ichabod Spencer, D.D., Vol. I., p. 392.

30; twenty-nine, from 30 to 40; sixteen, from 40 to 50; eleven, from 50 to 60; four, over 60.

More specific are the data presented in the following table:—

Age.	Drew—M.	Gullick—M.	Ayres—M.	Starbuck—M.	Totals.	Pope—M. and F.	Starbuck—F.	Hammond—M.	Hammond—F.
6	4	0	2	0	6	1	0	9	26
7	6	0	9	2	17	1	0	24	41
8	6	9	15	2	32	1	1	40	67
9	14	4	30	2	50	3	1	51	97
10	19	9	60	2	90	5	4	70	112
11	34	12	51	4	101	9	13	56	81
12	53	37	96	7	193	4	18	60	85
13	43	32	108	7	190	11	18	47	64
14	62	52	161	9	284	17	10	11	34
15	56	46	214	20	336	30	4	12	25
16	93	59	289	7	448	25	16	11	16
17	89	47	298	5	439	29	6	6	5
18	71	60	300	11	442	17	3	7	9
19	57	48	265	11	381	17	1	9	8
20	49	47	222	2	320	10	0	2	1
21	39	34	172	0	245	8	1	5	3
22	23	15	99	2	139	9	2	3	5
23	16	11	103	6	136	11	2	4	3
24	8	4	55	1	68	10	0	1	3
25	6	0	53	0	59	1	0	6	3
26	6	0	27	0	33	3	0	4	3
27	1	0	26	0	27	3	0	3	1
28	1	0	17	0	18	3	0	4	5
	756	526	2672	100	4054	228		445	697

The first four columns, added in totals, represent males. The first column is compiled for me by Librarian Louis N. Wilson from the last Alumni Record (1869–1895) of Drew Theological Seminary, which states the age of conversion of nearly all those who were students there during the quarter century comprised in the report. As only those would be likely to enter upon a course of theological study who were converted early in life, the ages here probably average younger than those of male converts generally. The same is doubtless true of the results of

the *questionnaire* circulated by Dr. Luther Gulick, of Springfield, Massachusetts, among members of the Y. M. C. A.¹ Mr. Ayres's column was computed for me from the Methodist Episcopal Church Minutes of the fall of 1896, and represents clergymen and shows the age of maximal conversion, which is doubtless too young. Dr. Starbuck's² column is based on only fifty-one cases and I have followed his curves in presenting percentages, so that the numbers in his column are about twice too large. His cases were carefully selected from a larger number representing all ages with much regard to the fulness of record. The column of Rev. L. A. Pope, of the Baptist Church of Newburyport, Massachusetts, includes both sexes and all ages in his church, but here again, as women generally preponderate in the membership lists of all churches, and as they are usually converted earlier than men, his data represent no doubt the age as too young for the average male. Dr. Starbuck's column for females is based on eighty-six selected cases, here presented as percentages. The last two columns are compiled from the covenant book of Rev. E. P. Hammond, whose specialty is revival work with children, which he has kindly loaned me for the purpose. They represent his converts in two series of meetings in two small cities. From our columns of males it appears that sixteen is the age of most frequency, while for Hammond this age is reduced to ten for both sexes.

¹ *The Association Outlook*, December, 1897.

² "A Study of Conversion," E. D. Starbuck. *Am. Jour. of Psychology*, Jan., 1896. Vol. VII., pp. 269-308.

MRS. MARY ROWLANDSON'S REMOVES.

BY HENRY S. NOURSE.

AMONG American books which have won a wide and lasting popular favor, very few, if any, surpass in this distinction the Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, first printed in 1682 at London and Boston. Of this simple, pathetic relation of personal adventure twenty-five editions and reprints have been catalogued, the last two bearing the date 1883. All of these subsequent to the second edition omit the original preface and many of the pious author's scriptural quotations, besides changing the title of the book, modernizing the writer's spelling, and modifying some of her quaint phraseology. Historians have treated the book with even less respect, ignoring or distorting its statements. Thus in the pages of Rev. Timothy Harrington, Joseph Willard, Isaac Goodwin, Rev. Abijah P. Marvin, and many others, King Philip is depicted as an active and potent leader in the bloody assaults upon Lancaster and other towns of Eastern Massachusetts during the months of February and March, 1675-6. The Rowlandson Narrative plainly contradicts them, for Robert Pepper, a prisoner captured by the Indians at Capt. Beers's fight the previous September, told Mrs. Rowlandson, soon after her arrival at Menameset, that he had been taken "almost as far as Albany to see King Philip," and had recently returned thence. The Lancaster captive first saw Philip about a month after the massacre in the Nashaway Valley, at Coasset, on the west bank of the Connecticut River, near the boundary line between Massachusetts and Vermont. Thus the Narrative confirms the

evidence given by the heroic Christian scout, Quanapohit, who testified before the colonial authorities on January 24, 1675-6 that Philip had gone to the Mohawk country, and was in winter quarters not many miles north of Albany. The Narrative nowhere yields testimony that Philip ever stood in the van of conflict with the white men.

Many absurd statements respecting Mrs. Rowlandson's wanderings while with her savage captors have been published by local historians, and continue to receive credence. Some of these justify the belief that the authors never read any one of the numerous editions of the Narrative. Rufus C. Torrey, on page 22 of his History of the Town of Fitchburg, 1836, says of Mrs. Rowlandson's journey:—

"From her account it appears that she spent the first night of her captivity on a small island in a river. This is supposed to be in Leominster. There is an island there answering very well to her description. The second night she passed upon a *high hill*; the third night in Narrhagansett, which is now Westminster; and on the eighth day of her captivity she arrived at a place, now in New Braintree."

He then assumes that the "high hill," the location of the second night's encampment, was Rollstone Hill in Fitchburg. Strange to tell, Mary Rowlandson says nothing about an island, and contradicts every assertion made by Mr. Torrey. A more recent historical writer of the same latitude has dared a step further, and alleges that the name Rollstone has been in the course of two centuries abbreviated from Rowlandson, and that it commemorates the night's encampment of the minister's wife and her guards upon it. A later adventurer in historic disquisition soberly records that "the murder of Mrs. Rowlandson's daughter, Grace, by the Indians, is said to have given her name to Mt. Grace in Warwick," thus showing himself entirely oblivious of the famous story wherein the bereaved mother tells of the lingering death of "her poor wounded child" Sarah, and how the infant's body was buried upon a hill near the Indian village of Wenimesset, on Ware River,

twenty miles south of Mt. Grace. A similar misstatement respecting Mt. Grace is to be found in the New England Hand Book.

The map of Mary Rowlandson's Removes herewith is an attempt to outline, as nearly as is now possible, the general trend of the Indian trails over which the captive journeyed to and from the valley of the Ashuelot, and to give approximately the sites of the various camps, a list of which, with Mrs. Rowlandson's itinerary, follows :

1. Thursday, February 10, 1675-6. George Hill in South Lancaster.

THE FIRST REMOVE.—Now away we must go with those Barbarous Creatures, with our bodies wounded and bleeding, and our hearts no less than our bodies. About a mile we went that night, up upon a hill within sight of the Town, where they intended to lodge. There was hard by a vacant house (deserted by the English before for fear of the Indians). . .

A half-buried boulder of granite on the summit of this prominent hill is known as the Rowlandson Rock, and time-hallowed tradition says it marks the exact spot where the captive woman rested during the night succeeding the massacre at the Rowlandson garrison. The vacant house was presumably the first dwelling of John Prescott, the founder of Lancaster, which stood on the site of the Symonds and King "trucking house," the first structure built by white men in the Nashaway Valley, about half way down the eastern slope of the hill.

2. Friday, February 11. On the Indian trail to Quabaug, now Brookfield, probably in the western part of Princeton.

THE SECOND REMOVE.—But now the next morning I must turn my back upon the Town, and travel with them into the vast and desolate Wilderness, I know not whither. . . . After this, it quickly began to snow, and when night came on, they stopt; and now down I must sit in the snow by a little fire, and a few boughs behind me, with my sick Child in my lap.

The old trail from Lancaster to Quabaug ran a little south of Wachusett to the Indian villages along the Menameset, now called Ware, River, whence it branched to the north and south towards the tribal headquarters of the Connecticut-river Indians and the Quabaugs. A less used path left this trail near Lancaster, and led north of the mountain to Nichewaung and Squakeag.

3. Saturday, February 12, to Sunday, February 27. Wenimesset *alias* Menameset, a swamp stronghold of the Quabaugs on what is now known as the Ware River, in the extreme northern angle of New Braintree.

THE THIRD REMOVE.—The morning being come, they prepared to go on their way: One of the Indians got up upon a horse, and they set me up behind him with my poor sick babe in my lap. . . This day in the afternoon, about an hour by Sun, we came to the place where they intended, *viz.*, an Indian Town called Wenimesset, norward of Quabaug.

4. Monday, February 28, to March 3. Probably in Petersham, about half way between Ware and Miller's Rivers.

THE FOURTH REMOVE.—We travelled about half a day, or a little more, and came to a desolate place in the Wilderness, where there were no Wigwams or Inhabitants before; we came about the middle of the afternoon to this place. . . At this place we continued about four dayes.

5. Friday, March 3, to March 5. In Orange, on Miller's River, near the Athol line.

THE FIFTH REMOVE.—Upon a Friday, a little afternoon, we came to this River [Bacquag]. . . A certain number of us got over the River that night, but it was the night after the Sabbath before all the company was got over.

This remove Mrs. Rowlandson describes as made in frenzied haste by the entire mob of Indians—an assemblage of all the eastern tribes, probably about 2000 men, women and children—and was caused by news of the arrival at Quabaug, on March 2, of Major Thomas Savage

with a troop of mounted men and three infantry companies from the Bay, where he was joined by a Connecticut force of similar strength. Major Savage promptly began pursuit, but was delayed by Indian wiles, and reached the crossing at Miller's River on March 6, only to find that the enemy were safe from pursuit, having with great difficulty got over the swollen stream on rafts.

6. Monday, March 6. At the Great Swamp in Northfield, beside which ran the Indian trail between Nichewaug and Squakeag.

THE SIXTH REMOVE.—On Monday they set their Wigwams on fire, and went away. . . We came that day to a great Swamp by the side of which we took up our lodging that night.

7. Tuesday, March 7. At Squakeag, now in Northfield, near Beers' Plain.

THE SEVENTH REMOVE.—After a restless and hungry night there, we had a wearisome time of it the next day. The Swamp by which we lay, was as it were a deep Dungeon, and an exceeding steep hill before it. . . That day, a little after noon, we came to Squaukeag, where the Indians quickly spread themselves over the deserted English Fields, gleaning what they could find.

8. Wednesday, March 8. At Coasset on the Connecticut River in South Vernon, Vermont.

THE EIGHTH REMOVE.—On the morrow morning we must go over the River, i. e. Connecticut, to meet with King Philip, . . but as my foot was upon the cannoo to step in there was a sudden outcry among them and I must step back; and instead of going over the River, I must go four or five miles up the River farther Northward. . . We travelled on until night, and in the morning we must go over the River to Philip's Crew. . . Then I went to see King Philip.

9. March —. In the Ashuelot Valley.

THE NINTH REMOVE.—But instead of going either to Albany or homeward, we must go five miles up the River and then go over it. Here we abode awhile.

10. March —. In the Ashuelot Valley.

THE TENTH REMOVE.—That day a small part of the Company removed about three quarters of a mile, intending further the next day.

11. March — to April. Probably in Chesterfield, New Hampshire.

THE ELEVENTH REMOVE.—The next day in the morning they took their Travel, intending a day's journey up the River; I took my load at my back, and quickly we came to wade over the river, and passed over tiresome and wearisome hills.

12. Sunday, April 9? In the same locality.

THE TWELFTH REMOVE.—It was upon a Sabbath-day morning that they prepared for their Travel [towards the Bay.] . . . When we had gone a little way, on a sudden my mistress [Weetamoo, Squaw Sachem of Pocasset,] gives out she would go no farther but turn back again. . . . We were at this place and time about two miles from Connecticut River.

13. April —. Probably in south part of Hinsdale.

THE THIRTEENTH REMOVE.—Instead of going toward the Bay (which was what I desired), I must go with them five or six miles down the River into a mighty Thicket of Brush, where we abode almost a fortnight.

14. April —. On the homeward march through Northfield.

THE FOURTEENTH REMOVE.—Now we must pack up and be gone from this Thicket, bending our course toward the Bay towns. . . . When night came on we sate down; it rained, but they quickly got up a Bark Wigwam where I lay dry that night.

This move was probably about April 20. When the news of Canonchet's capture by the English on April 2 reached the Connecticut River Indians they deserted Philip, and even threatened to kill him. The Nipnets and Nashaways left for Wachusett about April 10, and Quanopin and Philip accompanied them; but their squaws remained awhile in the neighborhood of the Pocumtuck villages.

15. April —. At Miller's River in Orange.

THE FIFTEENTH REMOVE.—We went on our Travel. . . We came to Baquag River again that day, near which we abode a few dayes.

16. April —. One mile south of Miller's River, probably in Athol.

THE SIXTEENTH REMOVE.—We began this Remove with wading over Baquag River . . . yet it pleased them to go but one mile that night, and there we staid two dayes.

17. April —. Probably at Nichewaug.

THE SEVENTEENTH REMOVE.—At night we came to an Indian Town.

18. April —. At an Indian settlement, probably on Ware River near Menameset, perhaps at that on Barre Plains.

THE EIGHTEENTH REMOVE.—Then we came to another Indian Town where we stayed all night.

19. April —. On the west side of Wachusett in Princeton.

THE NINETEENTH REMOVE.—After many weary steps we came to Wachuset.

20. Friday, April 28, to May 2. Between the mountain and lake near Redemption Rock in Princeton.

THE TWENTIETH REMOVE.—We went about three or four miles, and there they built a great Wigwam, big enough to hold an hundred Indians. . . On Tuesday morning they call their General Court (as they call it) to consult whether I should go home or no. And they all as one man did consent to it that I should go home, except Philip, who would not come among them. . . So I took my leave of them. . . About the Sun going down, Mr. Hoar, and myself, and the two Indians [Tom and Peter], came to Lancaster, and a solemn sight it was to me. There I had lived many comfortable years amongst my Relations and Neighbours; and now not one Christian to be seen, nor one house left standing. We went on to a Farm house that was yet standing, where we lay all night, though nothing but straw to ly on. The Lord preserved us in safety that night, and raised us up again in the morn-

ing, and carried us along that before noon we came to Concord. . . . Being recruited with food and raiment, we went to Boston that day, where I met with my dear husband. . . .

The passages quoted from the Narrative follow the text of the second edition, 1682. Mrs. Rowlandson's explicit statement that not a house was left in Lancaster, and that she "went on" to find a sheltering roof for the night, did not prevent the historians Willard and Marvin from asserting that the meeting-house was not destroyed in 1676. The farm-house in which she lodged the night of May 2 was probably upon Wataquadock hill in Bolton, perhaps Ensign John Moore's, the exact location of which is not known with certainty. All of the inhabitants of Lancaster who had cattle enough left to serve in the transportation of their chattels fled at once after the massacre of February 10 to the Bay towns. The remainder, about twenty families, were gathered into two palisaded garrisons with a guard of eighteen soldiers to protect them from the small bands of Indians that were prowling in the neighborhood. These with their household goods were removed by a company of forty mounted men, sent from Concord by Major Simon Willard for that purpose, on March 26. Mrs. Rowlandson's statement proves that the garrisons and other buildings then standing were destroyed either by the soldiers or savages. The families were scattered far and wide, doubtless each going where relatives could give them shelter. By recorded births and deaths among them, *etc.*, we know that between 1676 and the resettlement of Lancaster in 1681 the Prescotts, Ruggs and Hudsons, and perhaps the Sawyers, were in Concord; the Wilders, Willards, Houghtons, Waters and Ropers in Charlestown; the Farrars at Woburn; the Whitcombs probably at Scituate; the Lewises, Bemans, Rogers, Sumners and Athertons at Dorchester. The Rowlandsons, after eleven weeks' sojourn with Rev. Thomas Shepard of Charlestown,

were furnished with a dwelling in Boston by the South Church, whence Mrs. Rowlandson made another "remove" in the spring of 1677 to Wethersfield, Connecticut, where her husband was installed, not as colleague of the Rev. Gershom Bulkeley, although all the historians, including even the careful John Langdon Sibley, have so alleged, but as settled pastor in place of Mr. Bulkeley, who had asked and obtained dismissal, and removed to Glastonbury, where he practiced as a physician. Mr. Rowlandson died in Wethersfield, November 24, 1678, but the date and place of Mrs. Mary (White) Rowlandson's final remove from all earthly trials is nowhere found recorded.

THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY CURRENCY, 1690—1750.
THE PLATES.

BY ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.

THE selection of the denominations for the first emission of Colony Bills and the apportionment among them of the number of bills of each sort to be issued, was of course purely experimental. The Committee had no experience upon which they could base an opinion as to the denominational distribution of the sum which was authorized to be emitted by the Act. This point had to be settled in some manner, and it was determined to prescribe the limits for the denominations in the Act itself and leave the rest to the Committee. The lower limit was at first fixed at five shillings and the higher at five pounds, but within less than two months these limits were changed to two shillings and ten pounds.¹ Cotton Mather's description² contains substantially all that we know as to the manner in which this emission was made. "Hereupon," he says, "there was appointed an able and faithful committee of gentlemen, who printed from copper plates, a just number of bills,

¹The records of the General Court indicate that the original Act of Emission was passed December 10th, 1690, and the bills bear that date.—Court Records, Vol. VI., pp. 170, 171. It would seem as if this must have been the day when the Act was reported. There is in the Archives a draft of the Act containing endorsements to the effect that it was passed by the Governor and Assistants December 23, and by the Deputies December 24. As originally reported no limit was set to the amount of the emission. It was apparently contemplated that the Committee should emit enough bills "to settle the Colony debts." This was amended while under consideration, and a limit of £7,000 was set.—Archives, Vol. 36, pp. 260, 261. It is evident that this amount was soon discovered to be inadequate, for on the 5th of February, 1690-91, the Committee was authorized to print and give forth "of said bills to all persons desiring the same who shall produce and deliver unto them a debenture or debentures from the Committee or Committees that are or shall be thereunto appointed, or shall produce an order of this Court for the full sum expressed in such debenture, or order" . . . "no one bill to be for a less sum than two shillings, nor exceeding the sum of ten pounds."—Court Records, Vol. VI., pp. 173, 174. May 21, 1691, it was ordered that the Bills of Credit to be issued under the above authority should not exceed forty thousand pounds.—Court Records, Vol. VI., p. 185.

²Magnalia, Book II., Vol. I., p. 190, Hartford Ed., 1853.

and flourished, indented and contrived them in such a manner, as to make it impossible to counterfeit any of them, without a speedy discovery of the counterfeit: besides which they were all signed by the hands of three belonging to the Committee."

The copper plates of which Mather speaks are referred to in the Records in 1691.¹ A Committee was appointed at that time "to call in and take into safe custody the Plates which the Bills were printed off with."

The opening phrase of the Colony Bill, "This indented bill," establishes adequately perhaps, the fact that the bills were indented. The intention of the Committee in that regard is set forth in the draft of the bill included in their report, in which they illustrated how the indent could be applied by reserving space above the text of the bill wherein a rude scroll was drawn enclosing the word, "Indentment." That their intentions were carried out is shown by repeated references in contemporaneous legislation.²

The Act of February 5, 1690-91, furnishes no other information as to the denominations, than the limits, two shillings and ten pounds, within which the Committee were restrained. From this Act and from subsequent legislation,³ we are able to say, that there were at least eight denominations, as follows: 2/, 2/6, 5/, 10/, 20/, 60/, 100/ and 200/.

Of the number of plates and of the distribution upon them of the denominations we know nothing. If we accept the five-shilling bill as a sample, we can say that the

¹ Court Records, Vol. VI., p. 185.

² The only specimen of these bills that I have seen was indented, but a single swallow does not make a summer. The following references will establish the fact that the bills were indented, about which there was perhaps no real occasion to entertain a doubt.—Province Laws, Vol. VII., p. 280, p. 303; Vol. VIII., p. 21.

³ Court Records, Vol. VI., pp. 173, 174; Province Laws, Vol. VIII., p. 178, p. 279; *Ibid.*, Vol. VII., p. 303; *Ibid.*, Vol. VII., p. 280, p. 341; *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII., p. 21; *Ibid.*, Vol. VII., p. 21; *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII., p. 289. Mather's *Magnalia*, Book II., Vol. I., p. 191, Hartford Ed., 1853; Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, Vol. I., p. 356.

bills were plain and unostentatious in appearance, and that the engraving was rude and unskilful. It may be inferred therefore that the plates were engraved in the Colony. There are certain details connected with the engravings upon these plates which are of interest; but as the purpose of this paper is simply to disclose what can be ascertained of the denominations of the Colony Bills in use prior to 1702, and to show the denominational distribution of the Province Bills upon the plates at a later date, it is not perhaps advisable to enter upon any discussion of this part of the subject.

The Colony Bills, bearing the endorsement of the Province Treasurer, furnished the Province with a supply of currency for ten years. Their condition then became such that a new supply was necessary, and a realizing sense on the part of the law makers that there was no authority then existing under which an original emission of bills of the Colony could be made, compelled the Province to emit a currency of its own. The first form for the Province Bills was adopted in 1702¹ and was, like its predecessor, a mere certificate to the possessor of indebtedness, on the part of the Province, of a certain sum, said to be in value equal to money. At a later date, when the value corresponding to the denominations was expressed in ounces of silver at a fixed rate, the bills containing the phrase "in value equal to money" were invariably spoken of as "old tenor bills." The duty of selecting suitable "stamps" for the bills was thrown upon the Governor and Council, and the devices engraved for this purpose were termed the "escutcheons or stamps,"² the alternative phrase "blazons" being sometimes applied to them.³ A committee of five was appointed to sign the bills, and to this committee the preparation of the plates was apparently entrusted.⁴ They

¹ Province Laws, Vol. I., p. 503. ² *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII., pp. 640, 642. ³ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII., p. 204. ⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 508, note; Vol. VIII., pp. 24, 774, note.

caused six copper plates to be made ready, three of which were engraved.¹

With the exception that the denominations of the bills were to be "in suitable sums from two shillings to five pounds,"² the determination of the denominations and the distribution among them of the amount to be issued were apparently left to the committee. From repeated mention we know that originally the bills were issued in eight denominations, and these were 2/, 2/6, 5/, 10/, 20/, 40/, £3, and £5.³

The three plates which the committee caused to be engraved were known as "the large"—sometimes also called "the great" or "the high"—plate; "the middle" plate, and "the lowest" plate, the classification being based upon the denominations of the bills on the several plates. It is evident from references that each plate was so engraved that an impression could be simultaneously taken of four bills, and one such impression has been preserved.⁴ It will be seen that the three plates provided twelve spaces for the eight denominations, a discrepancy which was met by duplicating the two denominations allotted to the lowest plate and by filling the two extra spaces left upon the highest plate with two twenty-shilling bills. This being done the contents of the plates were in 1702 as follows: The lowest, two 2/ and two 2/6 bills;⁵ the middle, 5/, 10/, 20/ and 40/ bills;⁶ the high, the two twenty-shilling bills above referred to and the £3 and £5 bills.

In 1707, the Committee on Bills made a charge "for new graveing one of y^e plates."⁷ I have seen no bill which was dated in 1707, but in 1708, twenty-shilling bills of that date, "imprinted and put into the Treasury," are

¹ By Mr. John Cony. Province Laws, Vol. VII., p. 747.

² Province Laws, Vol. VIII., pp. 204, 640.

³ See table given in report of Committee, November, 1706. Province Laws, Vol. VIII., p. 469.

⁴ Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 101, p. 361.

⁵ Province Laws, Vol. I., p. 646. ⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 668. ⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII., p. 698.

spoken of in a contemporary document.¹ A specimen of a forty-shilling bill bearing date 1708 is to be seen in the Lenox Library. Both of these denominations are from the middle plate, and in the absence of any allusions in the records to bills dated 1707, or of knowledge of any existing specimens of bills of that date, it is natural to indulge in the conjecture that notwithstanding the payment in 1707 there may have been some delay on the part of the engraver in delivering the plate, and consequently that the date 1708 on those bills indicates the time of the completion of that service. Unless this should prove to be so we have no trace of the plate which was paid for in 1707, and no theory to account for the date 1708 to be found upon some of the bills.

In 1709, the number of denominations was increased to ten, alterations being ordered in the duplicates on the lowest plate which would furnish 3/ and 3/6 bills.² In 1710, the date of the twenty-shilling bills on the middle plate was altered to 1710. The two twenties on the great plate were at the same time erased, and through the substitution for the erased bills of the new denominations 4/ and 50/³ the number of the denominations was increased to twelve. The plates as they then stood bore the following denominations respectively: the lowest, 2/, 2/6, 3/, 3/6; the middle, 5/, 10/, 20/, 40/; the great plate, 4/, 50/, 60/, 100/. By transposing the 4/ to the middle plate and the

¹ Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 101, p. 391.

² Province Laws, Vol. I., p. 646.

³ June 29, 1710, The Committee for preventing the Counterfeiting the Bills of Publick Credit said in their report, "We are humbly of opinion that the great plate, upon which there is two Twenty Shilling Bills, be altered on the Plate; viz, one to be made Fifty & the other Four shillings."—Province Laws, Vol. I., p. 668. The change of date of the other twenty must have been authorized at or about the same time, for the fact that it was authorized is stated in the preamble of an Act in the following language: "this Court, at their session in May last past, having ordered that two of the said plates be erased and altered into other sums, and that a certain number of twenty shilling bills be imprinted off the third plate, with the alteration of the date to this present year, one thousand seven hundred and ten." The "third plate" is of necessity under the circumstances the middle plate.—Preamble to Chapter XII., Laws of 1710-11, Province Laws, Vol. I., p. 666.

40/ to the great plate, it is evident that the grouping upon the plates would be arranged according to the numerical sequence of the denominations expressed in shillings, and there would then be no violation to the system of nomenclature under which the plates were designated.

In 1711 new plates were prepared, on which these changes were effected. The grouping on the lowest plate was not disturbed. The middle plate of this series contained the 4/, 5/, 10/ and 20/ bills. The high plate had the 40/, 50/, 60/ and 100/ bills.¹ It would seem probable that the plates engraved in 1711 must have borne the date of that year. Whether this was so or whether any changes were made in the method of engraving these bills can only be determined by an examination of the bills themselves. It has not been my good fortune to meet with any of them, so that my opinion on this subject is limited to the conjecture that no change in the plates was probable other than the date. This conjecture is based partly upon the fact that the new plates were not the subject of comment or legislation, and partly upon the forced withdrawal of the currency then in circulation and the substitution therefor of new bills, with new designs better calculated to prevent alterations of denominations, which was begun in 1713 and completed in 1714. If any material change had been made in the plates in 1711, this radical step, begun within two years from the preparation of a new set of plates, would not have been necessary.

The legislation in connection with renewal of the plates above referred to was begun on the 10th of November, 1713, by the passage of an order instructing the Committee "to procure two new plates and four bills to be engraven on each of them of such sums as they with the Treasurer shall think to be most convenient,"² and com-

¹ Report of Committee, December 14, 1711, Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 101, p. 409. These plates were engraved by John Cony.

² Province Laws, Vol. I., p. 902.

pleted by the passage of an Act in June, 1714, "That all the bills of credit hereafter to be made, be imprinted and stamped on the new plates ordered to be provided and made ready, there being two already prepared, and a third, of a larger denomination, hereby projected and directed to be engraven for that purpose; to consist of five pounds, three pounds, forty-shilling and thirty-shilling bills."¹

It will be seen at a glance that the new plate ordered in 1714 was the high plate; and from the same source that this information is obtained we also learn that the middle plate contained the twenty-shilling, ten-shilling, five-shilling and three-shilling bills. The denominations upon the lowest plate remain to be accounted for. Through an account of worn and defaced bills unfit for further service,² we learn that the following bills, the grouping of which on that plate would inevitably follow, were then in circulation: one shilling; one shilling and sixpence; two shillings; and two shillings and sixpence. It will be seen from this that new denominations were introduced by the Committee at this time. The plates then prepared remained in use without change until 1740, the grouping being as follows: lowest plate, 1/, 1/6, 2/, 2/6; middle plate, 3/, 5/, 10/, 20/; high plate, 30/, 40/, 60/, 100/.³

A special emission, as a substitute for copper money in making change, was authorized in 1722.⁴ The several denominations, one penny, twopence and threepence were mere tokens, bearing neither certificates of indebtedness nor promises to pay by the Province, and being without signatures of Committee or Treasurer. They were printed on parchment, the penny being round, the twopence square,

¹ Province Laws, Vol. I., p. 740.

² Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 101, p. 514.

³ In February, 1727-28, the Committee on Bills was directed "to put some plain mark to distinguish the ten shilling bills which shall now be struck off from those already issued." This was probably a mere pen mark.—Province Laws, Vol. II., p. 486.

⁴ Province Laws, Vol. II., p. 243.

and the threepence hexagonal. The denominational value was printed in numerals and in type on the face of each piece, together with the month and year of the emission. The penny piece also bore the word "Massachusetts"; the twopence the words "Province of the Massachusetts," and the threepence the words "Province of the Massachusetts Bay, N. E."

The Act authorizing the emission of the first series of new tenor bills was passed in February, 1736-37.¹ These bills were denominated the new tenor bills, a title which they retained for about five years. The denominations authorized to be issued were: tenpence; one shilling and eightpence; three shillings and fourpence; six shillings and eightpence; ten shillings; twenty shillings; thirty shillings; and forty shillings. The unit upon which this scale was constructed was the normal value, or at any rate that value which was treated in the Province during this period as normal, of the ounce of silver. The smaller denominations were the eighth, the quarter and the half of that unit. The larger were represented by the multiples, one and one-half, three, four and one-half, and six. Nothing is said as to the action of the Committee in arranging these denominations upon the plates, but it is evident that they correspond with the range included in the middle and high plate of the old tenor bills and there can be but little doubt that the custom in regard to grouping the bills on the plates according to their value was followed in this emission.

It will be observed that the highest denomination of this issue was forty shillings. When the Colony bills were emitted a £10 bill was put forth. It required but a brief experience to show that there was but little use for a bill of that size, and in 1702 when the old tenor bills were first emitted the maximum range to the denominations was dropped to £5. In a bill for services, rendered by a Com-

¹ Province Laws, Vol. II., p. 818.

mittee which in 1704 had charge of the preparation of the bills for an emission of £5,000, it appears that they signed 7,504 bills of different denominations. Among which were the £5 and the £3, of each of which three only were signed.¹ From this it would seem as if these denominations were at first superfluous, but at a later date when the old tenor notes were rated at four to one of the new tenor, there may have been a demand for these high bills in the old tenor emissions. The adoption of £2 as the highest denomination of the first new tenor bills would seem to have been based upon a better knowledge of the needs of the community than was possessed by the committees in the early days of the paper money and it was adhered to as a maximum in subsequent emissions.

In July, 1737, the committee that had charge of the emission of the engraved new tenor bills was ordered to emit a specified quantity of printed bills of the following denominations: one penny; twopence; threepence; fourpence; fivepence; and sixpence.² The published Act authorizing this emission contains impressions from the several wood cuts prepared for the borders of the respective denominations, and the prescribed inscriptions and figures for the face of each of the several bills are given in full. In addition to this each of the bills in circulation also had printed upon its back the value in old and new tenor respectively. The illustrations of these bills given in our statute books were reproduced in Goodell's edition of the Province Laws.³

The second new tenor bills were emitted in January, 1741-42. They usurped for a time, and perhaps permanently thereafter, the title "new tenor bills," and the bills which had been previously spoken of under this title became "middle tenor bills."⁴ It is safer perhaps to desig-

¹ Province Laws, Vol. VIII., p. 469. ² *Ibid.*, Vol. II., pp. 884, 885. ³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II., pp. 884, 885.

⁴ The first new tenor bills had still another title "threefold-tenor" based upon the ratio to old tenor.—Rev. Nathaniel Appleton's Fast Day Sermon, Jan., 1747-48, pp. 40, 41.

nate the new bills as "second new tenor," a specific title concerning the meaning of which there can be no doubt, while the language of writers of that day and even of the statutes requires to be scrutinized carefully if one would avoid the confusion caused by the contemporary terminology and be sure what is meant by a "new tenor bill." The Act authorizing the emission of the second new tenor bills⁸ not only fixed their denominations, but it prescribed the number of the plates and the grouping on them of the bills. The plates were designated as the first, second and third. To the first 40/, 30/, 20/ and 15/ bills were allotted; to the second 10/, 5/, 4/ and 3/; and to the third 2/, 1/, 8*d.*, 6*d.*, 4*d.*, and 2*d.* It will be noted that the rule that there should be four bills on each plate was for the first time violated in the third plate of this emission. The 15/ bill made its first appearance in this series. We look in vain for the 3*d.* and for the half crown denominations which must have been in favor, but this omission was provided for in January, 1742-43,² by the substitution of the 3*d.* for the 8*d.*, and of the 2/6 for the 4/ bill. At the same time the Committee was ordered to substitute a bill for 9*d.* in place of the 2/ bill, and one for 1/3 in place of the 3/ bill. When these changes had been made the plates were in the following condition: the third had the 2*d.*, 3*d.*, 4*d.*, 6*d.*, 9*d.* and 1/; the second had the 1/3, 2/6, 5/, and 10/; the first remained unchanged and had the 15/, 20/, 30/, and the 40/ bills.

This Society possesses a dilapidated and torn specimen of the 3*d.* of this series. From what has just been said, it will be seen, that in this bill, the embellishments and distinguishing features originally prepared for the 8*d.* bill are preserved.

June 20, 1744, the third and last form of the new tenor bill was adopted,³ and a committee, which was not named,

¹ Province Laws, Vol. II., p. 1077. ² *Ibid.*, Vol. III., p. 68. ³ *Ibid.*, Vol. III., p. 148.

but which was to be appointed by the Court, was empowered and directed to cause a certain sum in these bills to be printed and to sign and deliver them to the Treasurer. These bills were thereafter spoken of as "bills of the last tenor." This Act of emission is conspicuous in the omission of any provision for the preparation of new stamps for these bills. The denominations prescribed for this issue were limited to those to be found upon the first plate in 1742, viz.: 15/, 20/, 30/, and 40/. Specimens of bills have, however, been preserved, representing five out of the six denominations which were grouped upon the third plate in 1742, and bearing upon the face of each bill the words, "agreeable to Act of Assembly June 20th, 1744." It will thus be seen, either that enlarged powers in this direction were conferred upon the committee subsequently to the Act of Emission, or that the limitations imposed by the Act were openly disregarded by them. If we seek for any specific enlargement of the powers of the committee, our search will not probably be rewarded with success; but we shall find, that in the Acts under which emissions were made after 1744, the practice of ordering a certain amount of bills to be printed was abandoned, and the method was adopted of ordering to be emitted the requisite amount of bills of the last tenor alleged in every case to be then in the hands of the Treasurer. It is evident that this allegation was sometimes made without knowledge of the facts of the case, sometimes perhaps in violation of them; for it was the custom to provide against deficiencies which might arise by instructing the Committee on Bills, in case there was not a sufficiency in the hands of the Treasurer, to print enough to complete the amount ordered to be emitted. These instructions left the matter of the denominations to be printed entirely under the control of the committee; and it is possible that they may have interpreted their orders liberally, and in the exercise of their general powers furnished denominations not mentioned in

the Act of 1744. However this may be, it is difficult to see how the use of the phrase, "agreeable to Act of Assembly June 20th, 1744," upon bills the emission of which was not authorized by that Act, can possibly be justified. There can be little doubt however that the power was exercised for the evidence is of a convincing character that the Committee on Bills, in issuing the five unauthorized denominations on the third plate made use of the 1742 plates, making such changes in the inscriptions as were requisite to meet the demands of the law of 1744. Whether the same can be said of the first plate, and whether any bills of the denominations upon the second plate were emitted under pretended authority of this Act, can not at present be answered. So far as we can form any opinion on the subject, it would seem that the omission in the Act of emission of instructions to prepare new plates must have been intentional. In that event, if the Committee on Bills made use of the first plate prepared in 1742 for the authorized bills in 1744, it would have established a custom in the use of these plates, which might perhaps have led the committee to consider that even those which included denominations not mentioned in the Act were brought within their jurisdiction.

The bills that were emitted under the Act of June 20, 1744, represent the last of the irredeemable currency of this period, and the subject might perhaps be dropped at this point, with propriety. It happens, however, that while the Province was engaged in the process of resuming specie payments, it was conjectured that there might be a scarcity of small change for the purpose. To meet this possible deficiency, a fund of silver adequate for the redemption of the bills proposed to be issued was set aside and a committee was appointed with authority to emit bills of the following denominations: One quarter of a dollar, eighteen pence lawful money of Massachusetts;¹ one eighth

¹ Province Laws, Vol. III., p. 507.

of a dollar, or ninepence ; one twelfth of a dollar, or sixpence ; one sixteenth of a dollar, or fourpence half-penny ; one twenty-fourth of a dollar, or threepence ; and one seventy-second of a dollar, or one penny. Hutchinson says,¹ with reference to the bills of this emission, that only a small part of those prepared were ever issued ; the reason being, "that scarcely any person would receive them in payment, choosing rather a base coin imported from Spain, called pistorines, at 20 per cent. more than the intrinsic value."

Although these bills were emitted for the purpose of aiding in the process of redemption, and differed from any of their predecessors in having a specific fund of silver set apart for their redemption, still their presence in the circulating medium added temporarily to the confusion of the situation. The outstanding circulation, which was then being withdrawn, was composed mainly of old tenor and of second and third new tenor bills. Of the old tenor bills there were twelve denominations on the last set of plates ; of the second new tenor there were eighteen denominations ; of the third new tenor there were nine denominations of which we have positive knowledge, with the probability that there were more. To these thirty-nine varieties six more were added by the action of this committee, thus bringing the number of different bills then in actual circulation up to forty-five. The foregoing estimate takes no account of the different Province bills dated prior to 1713, thirty-one varieties that we know of, nor of the eight denominations of the first new tenor emitted in 1737. The three tokens of 1722 and the six varieties rated in pence in 1737 are also dropped from consideration. If by chance representatives of these issues had remained in circulation the number of distinct impressions liable to have come under inspection of the Committee would have been

¹ History of Massachusetts, Vol. III., p. 9.

brought up to ninety-three. Hutchinson says,¹ "I saw a five shilling bill which had been issued in 1690, and was remaining in 1749, and was then equal to eight pence only in lawful money, and so retained but about one eighth of its original value." If such was the case, it was of course possible that representatives of the eight Colony denominations might turn up. It is true that dates had been fixed within which the holders of the Colony Bills as well as of all Province Bills emitted prior to 1713 were called upon to present their bills at the Treasury for exchange, under penalty of their value being lost if not presented within the periods allowed for their exchange. The probability of the submission of any of these bills to the Committee was therefore very small, but if by any chance it was true, as Hutchinson seemed to think, that such bills had any value, then it is plain that the Committee appointed to supervise the redemption of the bills might have had submitted to them over one hundred varieties of bills.

In order to present the substance of this paper in compact form, I have prepared and submit herewith a table showing the denominational changes upon the plates. If the bills entered in the year 1708, were those for which the plate was ordered in 1707, then there should be two more denominations under that year, the 5/ and the 10/, to complete the middle plate. If the plates prepared in 1742 were used for the 1744 emission, then there should be one more denomination on the third plate in 1744, and we may also safely say the four denominations of the second plate.

Simultaneously with the study of the plates, the result of which is embodied in this paper, I have made an examination of such bills as I could find, in order to determine the characteristic features of each issue and the

¹History of Massachusetts, Vol. I., p. 357.

means adopted to distinguish the different denominations. The bills that I have seen were, the 5/ Colony; the middle plate of the 1702 emission containing the 5/, 10/, 20/ and 40/; the 40/ of 1708; the 20/ of 1710; the 1/, 1/6 and 5/ of 1713; the three parchment tokens of 1722; the 1*d.*, 3*d.*, and 5*d.* printed bills of 1737; the 3*d.* of 1743; the five denominations of the third plate in 1744, and the 3*d.* of 1750. These were found in the cabinets of the Essex Institute, the Harvard College Library, the Lenox Library, and the American Antiquarian Society. There is but one other public collection from which I can hope to receive assistance in completing this study, and that is the one in the Massachusetts Historical Society. At present that collection is inaccessible. There is every reason to believe that valuable contributions to knowledge upon this subject can be gained from collections in the hands of private individuals, and it may be expected that the publication of this paper and the accompanying table will stimulate holders of these hidden treasures to share their knowledge with the public.

I have been permitted to take photographs of each of the denominations that I have seen, and have thus been able to compare them with each other. Familiarity with detached specimens counts for but little in an examination of this sort. Valuable deductions can only be obtained by carrying out as far as possible the work of grouping the surviving specimens or their photographs side by side. My task can not be considered as finished until I shall have had an opportunity to examine such additional bills as may come under my inspection as a result of the publication of this paper.

A FLAG EPISODE.

BY THOMAS C. MENDENHALL.

THE stirring events of the past six months have created a new interest in anything pertaining to the flag of our country, and current periodicals have contained some account of its origin and early use. It is strange that the history of the emblem of a great nation, both emblem and nation scarcely more than a hundred years old, should be in any degree involved in obscurity, but this is nevertheless true of the flag of the United States of America. As anything likely to lessen this obscurity, even in a very small degree, must needs be of some interest and value, in the future if not at the present, it has seemed to the writer to be worth while to put upon the permanent and widely accessible records of the Society a brief account of an early episode of the flag, together with some remarks upon the individuals most prominently connected therewith and upon the probable accuracy of the narrative. He hopes to be acquitted of any suspicion of pride or satisfaction of personal relationship to one of the prominent actors in this interesting event, when it is remembered how little he is personally responsible for that relationship.

It has long been a family tradition that the first flag of the Union ever displayed in a foreign port was made and hoisted to the masthead by Captain Thomas Mendenhall of Wilmington, Delaware.

The story is, briefly, as follows:—Late in the year 1775 Robert Morris of Philadelphia, the famous financier of the revolutionary period, chartered the brig "Nancy" of Wilmington, for the purpose of quietly and secretly securing arms and ammunition in the West Indies. The brig was

commanded by Captain Hugh Montgomery. At St. Thomas, a neutral port, produce was taken aboard by day and munitions of war by night, and when the cargo was nearly complete news was received that independence was declared together with a description of the colors adopted by the new nation. The "Nancy" had been and was at this time flying English colors, but her patriotic commander resolved to conceal no longer his real attitude on the great question of the day. On board of the brig was young Mendenhall, then not yet seventeen years of age. To him was assigned the task of preparing for the display of the new national ensign, and as it was important that the plan should be kept secret until the last moment, he privately obtained the necessary materials, and with his own hands made the flag. In the meantime Captain Montgomery strengthened his crew, preparing for defence, and, wishing to honor duly the occasion, he arranged for a dinner party on board the "Nancy," inviting the Governor of the Island with his staff and about twenty other gentlemen. When the barges carrying the invited guests approached they were ordered to "lay on their oars," while the brig fired a salute of thirteen guns. During the firing of the salute Captain Montgomery ordered young Mendenhall to haul down the English flag and to hoist the new ensign, believed to be the first American flag ever seen in a foreign port. There was naturally much excitement among the many vessels lying in the harbor, and especially among the invited guests. Cheers were given for the "National Congress," and there were cries of "down with the lion; up with the Stars and Stripes."

This description of the scene is essentially, although much condensed, as found in a volume entitled "Reminiscences of Wilmington," published in 1851, the author of which was Miss Elizabeth Montgomery, daughter of Captain Hugh Montgomery, the Commander of the "Nancy." It is quoted from the same source by Preble in his exhaustive "History of the American Flag," and by Canby, who gives

what has been popularly accepted as the true story of the flag in his paper before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1870.

In further exposition of its weakness, as well as its strength, it is desirable to follow the "Nancy" on her homeward voyage. The entertainment on board was hurried as much as possible, and the brig was soon under full sail. Although chased by the enemy several times she escaped on account of her superior sailing powers. On entering Delaware Bay, however, in a dense fog, she ran into a considerable fleet of the enemy, and it was soon realized that escape was impossible. The courageous Captain determined to run the brig ashore and try to save some of the arms and ammunition, but just at this point a barge from the shore arrived, in command of Lieutenant Weeks or Wicks, who had been sent to warn the "Nancy" of the presence of the enemy. Captain Montgomery assembled all of his men and told them of his desire to save a part, at least, of the cargo, but adding that they could all now escape in safety on the barge. "If there is a man," he said, "fearful and faint-hearted let him go. The boat is ready to take him ashore." There was silence for a moment, and then the young man who had made and hoisted the flag stepped forward and said, "Captain, I will stand by you." The crew cheered, and no man left the brig until their work was done. For about twelve hours they labored under heavy fire from the enemy's fleet, saving the greater part of the munitions of war, although the brig was well-nigh shot entirely away. When further work was impossible Captain Montgomery resolved to blow what was left of the ship out of the water, that she might not fall into the hands of the enemy. Out of 386 barrels of gunpowder he had saved 268, and all of the firelocks on board. Arranging fires that would soon reach the remaining stores of powder he, with his men, left the ship, and it is related that the flag was saved by a sailor who swam

back to the ship from one of the boats and climbed the mast to secure it, reckless of the constant danger of explosion. Men, as many as thirty or forty, came in boats from the English ships-of-war, and boarded the brig after its crew deserted it, cheering for the victory which they imagined they had won. Not one survived the explosion which occurred in a few moments after they reached the vessel.

Captain Hugh Montgomery, the hero of this exploit, was a resident of Wilmington, Delaware. He was an ardent patriot during the revolutionary war. He escaped capture by the British just after the battle of Brandywine by a bit of fine strategy; his services did not go unrecognized by those in authority, but he met with an untimely death at sea in 1780, his vessel being attacked by a greatly superior force of the enemy. He left a widow and an infant daughter, the author of the "Reminiscences" from which quotations have been freely made.

Thomas Mendenhall, the maker of the flag, was the son of Philip, who was the son of Robert, the son of Benjamin Mendenhall who came from the village of Mildenhall, in Wiltshire, England, with the Penn emigration, about 1683 or '84, settling in Concord, Delaware County, Pennsylvania. Following his ancestry, Thomas was a member of the Society of Friends, which fact, however, did not prevent an active display of patriotic courage. He was born August 11, 1759, married in 1786, and died on June 2, 1843, at Philadelphia. During most of his life he resided at Wilmington, Delaware, where, according to the good fashion of his time, there were born to him thirteen children.

The principal interest in the flag episode, the main incidents of which are entirely trustworthy, is, of course, in the date of the occurrence and the character of the ensign raised, concerning both of which there is some uncertainty. As related by Miss Montgomery, the daughter of the ship's Captain, the incident must have occurred some days later

than July 4, 1776, and the flag raised was the ensign now in use, the "Stars and Stripes." Against her date must be put an account of the destruction of the brig "Nancy" quoted by Preble from volume VI. of the American Archives differing from that of Miss Montgomery in no essential particular, except that it is said to have occurred on June 29, 1776, five days before the declaration of Independence. This account is itself open to criticism, however, owing to the fact that the date of its apparent publication in Philadelphia is identical with that of the occurrence. As at least twelve hours were spent by the crew of the brig in removing stores and several more hours in the attack, defence and final beaching of the ship, and in view of the very imperfect news-gathering agencies in those days, it seems almost certain that there is an error in one or the other, or possibly both, of these dates. On the other hand, in considering Miss Montgomery's account it must be remembered that she was an infant at the time of her father's death and that she could never have heard the account from him; that her reminiscences were written, or at least first published in 1851, when she must have been between seventy and eighty years of age. Furthermore, although they are extremely interesting and doubtless for the most part reliable, there is an entire absence of grouping of the topics, and continual wandering from one to another in a manner characteristic of old age, so that skepticism as to details is naturally created. As to the kind of flag displayed at the masthead of the "Nancy" there is also room for doubt. It was not until June 14, 1777, nearly a year after the declaration of independence, that Congress passed the resolution defining the flag of the nation, the flag of thirteen stripes with a union of thirteen white stars in a blue field. Before this date the flag with thirteen stripes had become nearly universal, but a variety of emblems for the union had been used. In Canby's paper, already referred to, he contends that the flag with

stars was made, and at the suggestion of General Washington, at least as early as June, 1776, and he farther maintains that contemporary evidence proves that it had been in use some time before that date. If his detailed account of incidents connected with Washington's visit to Philadelphia in June, 1776, be fully credited, it may well be that the "Nancy" displayed the emblem of the new constellation, and that the flag was really in use some time before it was legally defined by Congress.

There is some collateral evidence worth mentioning in the fact that the young flag-maker of the brig, when he had become an old man appeared before a Congressional Committee in an effort to secure something in the way of a pecuniary award to Captain Montgomery's daughter, as a recognition of the value of his services on the occasion of the raising of the flag, the loss of the ship and the saving of the cargo. He there related the whole occurrence, but in spite of the fact that so eminent a man as Robert Morris had favored this claim Congress again decided to give nothing. The reason for this was quaintly, but perhaps not altogether innocently expressed by the old lady who had hoped to be the beneficiary of a nation's gratitude, when she said the "honorable body were too conscientious to squander public money, and feared" (the exact debt due the heirs not being ascertainable) "to pay one dollar more than was due."

RUFUS PUTNAM, AND HIS PIONEER LIFE IN THE NORTHWEST.

BY SIDNEY CRAWFORD.

THE life of General Rufus Putnam is so intimately connected with the history of the first century of our country that all the facts concerning it are of interest. It is a most commendable effort which has been put forth, therefore, during the more recent years, to give his name the place it deserves among the founders of our republic. We boast, and rightly, of our national independence, and associate with it the names of Washington and Jefferson, which have become household words throughout the land; but, when we come to look more closely into the problem of our national life from the beginning of it down to the present time, we find that one of the most essential factors in its solution was the work of Rufus Putnam. Although a man of humble birth, and never enjoying many of the advantages of most of those who were associated with him in the movements of his time, yet, in point of all the sturdy qualities of patriotism, sound judgment and far-sightedness, he was the peer of them all.

To him, it may be safely said, without detracting from the fame of any one else, the country owes its present escape from the bondage of African slavery more than to any other man. Had it not been for his providential leadership, and all that it involved, as is so tersely written on the tablet in the Putnam Memorial at Rutland, "The United States of America would now be a great slaveholding empire." He was the originator of the colony to make the first settlement in the territory northwest of the Ohio

River when it was yet a wilderness, and that settlement carried with it the famous Ordinance of 1787, by which slavery was forever to be excluded from all that region. Now that section is occupied by the great States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan.

Had slavery once crossed the river, it is not difficult to see what would have been its bearing upon our national destiny. Hon. Thomas Ewing of Ohio, in his address at the centennial celebration at Marietta in 1888, said, "The Marietta colony were in a large sense the emancipators of the slaves and the architects of the republic." Putnam has been called the "Father of Ohio," but he was also really the Father of the Northwest, for the Ohio Company, of which he was the prime mover, originally bought of the government all that immense tract of land (a million and a half acres), which was afterwards divided up into Ohio and the other States already named. The principles which went into and dominated one practically gave character to all. Prof. James D. Butler, LL.D., one of the oldest and most respected members of the faculty of the University of Wisconsin, has expressed it in this wise: "Wisconsin is largely of the same Eastern stock with her four older sisters. No middle wall of partition divides our quintette."

" ' We grew together,
Like to a five-fold cherry, seeming parted,
But yet with union in partition :
Five lovely berries molded on one stem,
So with five seeming bodies, but one heart.' "

In his recent address at Rutland, on the occasion of placing a memorial tablet in the old Putnam House by the Massachusetts Sons of the Revolution, Hon. George F. Hoar of the United States Senate has given a very clear and complete outline of the life, character and work of this remarkable man. Nothing which is essential to an intelligent understanding of that life could be added; but there are incidents and reminiscences connected with it

which are not so generally well known which may be of interest. It was the privilege of the writer some years ago, when on an historical mission to Marietta, where the greater part of Putnam's memorable life was led, to have access to a large collection of his unpublished letters and journals, now yellow with age, and to make quite copious notes from them. The purpose of this paper is, by the use of this and other material of the same sort, to bring out some features of Rufus Putnam's life which may serve as a kind of supplement to what has already been published. His service for his country dates from the time when, from North Brookfield, he enlisted in the French and Indian war, in 1757. He tells us in a journal which he kept in those days that he went out in the company of Capt. Ebenezer Learned, a very religious man, who "prayed regularly night and morning with his men, and on the Sabbath read a sermon in addition." It is an interesting coincidence that when young Putnam, then only nineteen years of age, and others of the noble pioneers of Ohio shouldered their muskets and made those wearisome marches to Canada, and endured such privations in the old French war, they were really fighting for the region which was to be their future home, and where, some years later, they were to lay the foundations of many rich and prosperous States. The very men who had helped England wrest the Northwest country from France in the French and Indian war, and who afterward, with the aid of France, reconquered it from England, now go out to make it their home, ready, if the necessity should occur, as it did, to take up arms once more to defend it from the Indians, who had been their foes in both the previous wars. After the war of the Revolution, in which he distinguished himself as military engineer and officer, we find Putnam returning to his farm, which a few years before he had purchased in Rutland, and there devoting himself to all the employments and duties of an ordinary citizen.

From the following abstracts from the town records we see the part which he took in town affairs. His name generally appears without the military title, and as simply Rufus Putnam, Esq., save in one instance, where he is designated as Col. Rufus Putnam.

In the town warrant for May 13, 1782, an article appears: "To remit to Abraham Wheeler, late constable, part of Col. Rufus Putnam's taxes, dated Sept. 15, 1781, for hiring men to serve in the army, 5 pounds 11 shillings."

Sept. 14, 1783. "Voted that Isaac Wheeler, Simeon Heald, Rufus Putnam, Esq. (and others) be a committee to view the road to Asa Adams to see whether a road can be made any other way to better advantage and report to the town at the adjournment of this meeting."

Nov. 17, 1783, there is an article "To see whether the town will grant money to repair any of the school houses in the town or act anything thereon." "Voted, that Capt. David Bent, Rufus Putnam, Esq. (and others) be a committee to make necessary repairs on the school houses now built in this town, and report the expense to the town at some future meeting for allowance and payment." Another article: "To see whether the town will empower any person or persons to settle with Jabez Fairbanks respecting his suit against the town, or act anything thereon." "Voted, that Dea. Jonas How (and others) be a committee to make a settlement." At an adjourned meeting, Dec. 1, "Voted, that Rufus Putnam, Esq., be added to the committee."

March 5, 1784, an article appears: "That the town choose collector to collect the taxes in the same the present year." "Voted, that the collection of the said taxes be let at auction and struck off to the lowest bidder who shall procure sufficient bonds for the faithful discharge of said office to the acceptance of the town." "Then Rufus Putnam, Esq., appeared and offered to undertake the collection of said taxes for 30 shillings on each one hundred pounds."

March 15, 1784. "The town being met according to adjournment acted further on the second article. Rufus Putnam, Esq., was chosen collector. Sworn. Voted to accept of Capt. Thos. Read and John Stone as bondsmen for the said collector's faithful discharge of said office. Rufus Putnam, Esq., chosen constable. Sworn."

In the records from this date there are several notifications for town meetings, of which the following is a specimen :

RUTLAND, Nov. 22, 1784.

In obedience to the warrant I have notified the inhabitants of Rutland to meet at the time and place for the purpose therein stated.

(Signed)

RUFUS PUTNAM,

Constable.

Nov. 2, 1784. Voted to Rufus Putnam, Esq., for repairing school house in the middle school plot the sum of 6 pounds 14 shillings and 2 pence. April 4, 1785, the town gave him 2 votes for State senator ; April 3, 1786, 21 votes ; and April 2, 1787, 29 votes.

May 8, 1786. "Voted Rufus Putnam, Esq., for surveying a road and carrying Beulah Collar to Leicester, 17 shillings and 10 pence. Voted also that Rufus Putnam, Esq. (and 8 others) be a committee to report a proper number and arrangement of school plots in the town at the adjournment of this meeting, and report each plot's bounds." The committee reported June 12, 1786.

Jan. 17, 1787. At a town meeting called by Hezekiah Ward, Justice of Peace, "The question was put whether the town should dismiss their member of the convention or not. Rufus Putnam, Esq., claimed a right to protest against the vote. Capt. Phinehas Walker was chosen a member of the convention."

At the same meeting there was an article "To see whether the town will act on a letter from a committee of the body of the people that assembled at Worcester on the

7th of Dec. last passed, or act anything thereon." "Voted to take the letter mentioned in the article into consideration. Dea. Jonas How claimed a right to protest against the vote." "Voted to choose a committee to petition the General Court agreeable to the letter. Rufus Putnam, Esq., claimed a right to protest for himself and all others who should choose to sign."

(These last minutes are supposed to refer to what is known in history as the Shays rebellion.)

March 5, 1787. Chosen chairman of selectmen; also surveyor of highways and collector of highway taxes.

March 18, 1787. Chosen moderator of Town Meeting.

The original plot which he made for the division of the town into school districts, in accordance with the vote taken June 12, 1786, may now be seen in the Putnam Memorial at Rutland.

It was during his residence in Rutland that his famous correspondence with Washington as to the best way to secure the unpaid dues to the Soldiers of the Revolution took place, and many of the letters which passed between them on this subject may now be seen among the Putnam papers at Marietta, Ohio. A simple allusion to this link in his life may be all that is necessary in this connection, a more complete account of which may be found in the able address of Senator Hoar, to which reference has already been made.

Congress failing to adopt his suggestions, endorsed by Washington, that public lands belonging to the government west of the Ohio River be assigned to the soldiers in lieu of money unpaid, he originated the idea and was largely instrumental in the organization of what is known in history as the Ohio Company, the object of which was to purchase outright those lands, provided a proper guarantee against the introduction of slavery into that territory could be secured, paying for them in most part with government scrip, which the soldiers held in large sums.

When the Ohio Company was formed Gen. Putnam was chosen its superintendent. His commission, signed by James M. Varnum, is still preserved in the archives of the college at Marietta, as also are many of his letters. Among those associated with him in this Company were some of the brightest men of his time. Washington said of them, "They were men to whom education, religion, freedom, private and public faith, which they incorporated in the fundamental compact of Ohio, were the primal necessities of life." Rev. Manasseh Cutler, D.D., of Ipswich, Massachusetts, his principal coadjutor, stands out in bold relief from all the rest. His part in securing the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, and afterward in purchasing of Congress the lands in the northwestern territory, entitles him to favorable mention always with the name of Rufus Putnam. His biographer says of him: "He had a versatile talent and broad learning, and was possessed of wonderful tact, both in speech and conduct; of elegant bearing; a favorite in the drawing room and in the camp; and, withal, a most noted naturalist, known almost equally well in scientific circles in Europe and America." The Ordinance passed July 11th, 1787. On the 27th of the same month Congress passed an act authorizing the sale to the Ohio Company of 1,500,000 acres of land on the Ohio, about the mouth of the Muskingum, for \$1.00 per acre, with an allowance for bad lands not to exceed one-third of a dollar per acre. The contract was closed Oct. 27th of the same year, and signed by Samuel Osgood and Arthur Lee for the Board of Treasury, and by Manasseh Cutler and Winthrop Sargent for the Ohio Company. It is the only case in history, with a single exception, when the Laws and Constitution have been projected into a territory prior to its occupation by its future inhabitants. Congress appointed as officers of the new territory Gen. Arthur St. Clair governor, Maj. Winthrop Sargent secretary, and Gen. Samuel H. Parsons and James M. Varnum

judges. After the purchase was made, and Cutler had returned to his home, there arose a lively discussion on the merits of the transaction and the wisdom of the proposed migration to the far west. Dr. Cutler wrote a pamphlet, in which he set forth in glowing colors the wonderful attractions of the western country for emigration. Others looked upon the scheme with ridicule.

A penny anti-moving-to-Ohio paper caricatured the whole thing by a rude wood-cut, in which a stout, ruddy, well-dressed man, on a sleek, fat horse, with a legend appended, "I'm going to Ohio," was represented as meeting a pale and ghastly skeleton-like looking figure, clad in tatters, astride an almost inanimate animal, and underneath the label, "I've been to Ohio." In three of the December 1787 issues and in one of the January issues of 1788 of *The Worcester Magazine* appears the following advertisement:

OHIO COMPANY.

ADVENTURERS in the OHIO COMPANY who subscribed with RUFUS PUTNAM are requested to meet at Mr. JOHN STOWERS's, innholder, in *Worcester*, on Tuesday, the 18th instant, at two o'clock in the afternoon, to choose an Agent or Agents, agreeably to the Articles of Association, as the said PUTNAM is very soon to set out for the Ohio Country, and can serve his friends as Agent no longer.

RUFUS PUTNAM.

Rutland, Dec. 3^d, 1787.

Only a day or two before this notice was first published one party of men for the west had started from Danvers, Massachusetts, under Maj. Haffield White, and about a month later (Jan. 1, 1788,) another company, under Col. Ebenezer Sproat, left New Haven, Connecticut, for the same destination. Putnam wrote his nephew John Matthews, who seems to have been with the first company, as follows: "You and Mr. Tupper are appointed surveyors under me, and you may expect to see me at Monongohela, or perhaps Wheeling Creek, by the tenth of February. Maj. White comes on with a party designed for building the boats. He has my orders to contract for supplies of provisions for the whole party till Aug. next. I am not coming with a view only to do the

work of the company, but I intend to remove my family as soon as I have provided a place to put them in." The men making up the two parties numbered in all forty-eight, and represented the various trades of carpentering, boat building, engineering, *etc.* It has been disparagingly said of them that they were merely hirelings, and of Putnam himself that he was a land speculator, and therefore not worthy the honor which is being heaped upon him. True, they were in one sense "hired men." They were sent ahead to prepare the way. Not able to go at their own expense, they were paid the nominal sum of four dollars a month till discharged. But they were men of most patriotic motives, and men also of superior culture and character. A third of them, it is said, were college graduates. It was no doubt Putnam's plan in the first place to provide good homes for his former comrades in arms. He may not have seen much farther ahead than that. Probably he built better than he knew. But we might say the same of Columbus and of the Pilgrim Fathers. No human eye can see the end from the beginning. But this is certain, had it not been for Gen. Rufus Putnam and his wise leadership into the wilds of the great northwest, American history would have been written far differently from what it is now. Their journey across the continent in the dead of winter was no holiday excursion. We find this entry in Putnam's journal: "I joined the party at Lincoln's inn, near a creek which was hard frozen, but not sufficient to bear the wagon, and a whole day was spent in cutting a passage. So great a quantity of snow fell that day and the following night as to quite block up the road. Our only resource was to build sleds and harness our horses one before the other, and in this manner, with four sleds and the men in front, to break the track. We set forward and reached the Youghiogheny, a tributary of the Ohio, Feb. 14, where we found Maj. White, who had arrived Jan. 3d." In a letter written to Dr. Cutler he says: "It would

give you pain and me no pleasure to detail our march over the mountains or our delays afterwards on account of the bad weather and other misfortunes." There were some rather humorous features to their trip. Col. Sproat, in command of the second party, was a thoroughgoing Yankee, 6 feet 4 inches tall, good natured, and exceedingly fond of animals. One Sunday they stopped over with a well-to-do German farmer in Pennsylvania, who treated them with the utmost hospitality.

During the halt some one, thinking to play a good joke on the colonel, hid the Dutchman's pet dog in one of the wagons, which was not discovered till they were well on their way the next day, when a messenger came riding up to the colonel in hot haste with this note from his German friend. "Meester Colonel Sproat, I dinks I use you well. Den for what you steal my little tog?" It hardly need be said that the dog was soon on his way back to its owner. After reaching a place called Sumrill's Ferry, for about six weeks they were busy building a good sized boat and several smaller ones for their voyage down the Ohio. The large boat they named "Adventure Galley," but afterward changed it to what they considered a more appropriate name, "The Mayflower," as a sort of second edition of the good ship in which the Pilgrim Fathers years before had come over to this new country to lay the foundations of a Christian commonwealth. Rufus Putnam and his brave company were, in fact, going out to sow in the wilderness of the Northwest seed from which a rich harvest of the Pilgrim ideas would be gathered in the years to come. They reached their destination at the junction of the Ohio and Muskingum Rivers the 7th day of April, 1788, about noon. The voyage down the river is described as delightful. It was during the opening days of spring. Representatives of the various tribes of Indians in that region were on hand to give them a gracious welcome. There is now a painting in one of the halls at Marietta, made in 1849 by a local artist of some repute, which

represents the landing scene. It is said to be tolerably true to facts so far as they could be gleaned from letters and journals written by the persons who were members of the group itself. It is laid on the left bank of the Muskingum, a quarter of a mile or so above its mouth. A group of white men has just ascended the bank from the boats, among whom Gen. Putnam and Col. Sproat are especially prominent. Corn Planter, the chief of the Senecas, in full dress, is shaking hands with the General, and welcoming him to the country. Capt. Pipes, chief of the Delawares, is close by his side, while the squaw or wife of Corn Planter, in a rich mantle of broadcloth decorated with five hundred silver brooches, and a head-dress of richly colored silk handkerchiefs, stands in a modest attitude looking pleasantly on the new comers. Groups of Indians are seen advancing, while others are seated on the trunk of a newly fallen tree. Sixty or seventy Indians from various tribes have been here some weeks for the purpose of making a treaty. The background takes in Fort Harmer, a frontier military post on the opposite bank of the river, and the low range of bluffs which skirt the horizon from north to south. The next day after their arrival the surveyors began to lay out the new town, Gen. Putnam himself taking charge of the work. The plan of the city as he originally drew it with his own hands is today among his papers in Marietta College library. A clearing was soon made in the forest, and, although the season was far advanced, the first year one hundred and thirty acres were planted with corn after a rude fashion, from which they harvested in the fall thirty bushels to the acre. The rivers furnished an abundance of fish, and the forests game, so they did not lack a sufficiency of food for that year.

In a letter to Dr. Cutler, Gen. Putnam wrote as follows : "The men are generally in good health, and I believe much pleased with the country. That I am so myself you may be assured. I can only add, the situation of the city

plot is the most delightful of any I ever saw." June 15th a hundred new recruits, or about fifteen families, joined the colony, from the east, coming by way of the river on "The Mayflower," which now made occasional trips between the settlement and Sumrill's Ferry on the upper Ohio. The name of the new town was called Marietta, in honor of Marie Antoinette, the queen of France, in acknowledgment of her courtesy to Benjamin Franklin, at that time the United States minister to France. As General St. Clair, the newly appointed territorial governor, had not yet arrived, the people very soon met and that they might live in an orderly way enacted some temporary laws, and posted them on the trees where all could see them.

It is not strange that a body of men like these should want to celebrate the anniversary of their national independence, nor is it to be wondered at that Gen. Putnam should take the lead in such a movement. The original subscription paper, drawn in his own handwriting, to raise money for a celebration the first year, is still in good state of preservation as the property of Hon. George Woodbridge of Marietta. It reads as follows:

"The subscribers hereby agree to celebrate the anniversary of the Independence of the United States upon the Fourth of July next. They will provide a public dinner for themselves, his excellency the governor and his suite, the officials of the government, and such others as may occasionally be invited. The expenses shall be equally borne and paid to Mr. Jonas Backus, who is desired to provide the entertainment.

RUFUS PUTNAM
& 47 others."

A large bower was erected near the river, and every preparation was made to carry out the plan, but, as the governor for some reason did not put in an appearance, one of their own number, James M. Varnum, an accomplished orator, delivered the address, and the day was pronounced

a success. One of the first structures to be built was a fort, to secure them against possible invasion from the Indians. Although they gave every assurance of friendliness, Gen. Putnam, from his previous experience with Indian character, knew too well that it would not do to put too much confidence in their professions.

Subsequent developments proved his wisdom in this respect. Under his direction a stockade, occupying some eight acres, laid out in the form of a square, was inclosed by a palisade of strong posts driven into the ground and pointed at the top. Inside this was built a substantial two-story building of timber, around an open court, 180 feet on each side, and defended at each corner by a blockhouse, which was higher than the rest, and pierced with portholes. This building was large enough to furnish accommodation in case of necessity for about fifty families. It was in one of these blockhouses that the first court of the territory was held, and the same place was used for religious services for a number of years. This structure for defence bore the somewhat pretentious name of *Campus Martius*. As Gen. Putnam was the superintendent of the colony, every one looked to him for the management of all affairs and the adjustment of all difficulties.

Among his papers at Marietta one finds relics of both the serious and the amusing features of those times. Here is one which seems to combine a little of both. It would seem that an Indian had been killed by a white man in revenge for some injury, and the wife of the murdered Indian was in want. Gen. Putnam gives an order on a store for her relief, as follows :

"MARIETTA, May 17th, 1797.

Sir :—

Pleze to Deliver the Dellancrane woman, widow of the murdered Indian Such goods as she shall chuze to wipe away her Tears to the amount of Five Dollars.

RUFUS PUTNAM.

To Griffin Green esq. or
Charles Green."

It was in the year 1790, or about two years after the arrival of the first colony, that Gen. Putnam returned to Rutland, his old home in Massachusetts, for his family. An interesting sketch of the journey back to Marietta with his family and some of his neighbors was written a good many years afterward by one who when a boy was a member of the party (Benjamin Franklin Stone of Chillicothe, Ohio.) He recalls at the age of eighty the experiences of a boy of twelve :

"I remember the morning of our starting for Ohio. Mr. Burlingame's family, of which I was a member, went to Gen. Putnam's the evening before. The next morning after family prayers and breakfast they began to tackle up the teams. . . . Putnam's family consisted of himself and wife, two sons and five single daughters. . . . Gen. Putnam had two hired men who were his teamsters. . . . There were twenty-six of us in all. It seemed to the old folks a vast enterprise to go eight hundred miles into a savage country, as it was then called. There were three ox wagons, with two yoke of oxen to each, and Gen. Putnam's two-horse carriage, and one saddle horse. My mother had one cow, and Putnam had three or four neat cattle, including a bull of a choice breed. We were eight weeks on the journey. I think we did not travel on the Sabbath, for I distinctly remember that we tarried at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and attended public worship. . . . Among other preparations for the journey my mother and sister had knit up a large quantity of socks and stockings. They were packed in a bag, and that bag was used by the boys who lodged in the wagon for a bolster. By some means the bag was lost out of the wagon or stolen. The boys missed it of course the first night. That morning my brother went back the whole distance of the previous day's journey, and inquired and advertised it without success. I do not remember how many pairs of stockings there were in it, but from the size of the bag I judge there were at least one hundred. . . . Our ox teams were quite a curiosity to the Yorkers and Pennsylvanians. They called them the cow teams. . . . I remember the steep rough roads in the mountains. Sometimes they would take the foremost pair of oxen and chain them to the hind end of

the wagon when going down a steep place, where they would naturally hold back, and so make it easier for the other pair to hold back. . . . Gen. Putnam had travelled the road three or four times before, and he had a list of all the houses that he meant to put up at, and every morning he would say to the teamsters, 'So many miles to such a place tonight.' He would generally go forward horseback and make arrangements for the night. . . . Two nights in all the journey did we fail of reaching the appointed place, though sometimes it was at a late hour, owing to the badness of the roads on rainy days. We had but little rainy weather until we reached the headwaters of the Youghiogheny at Sumrill's Ferry. We waited a few days at the house of Mr. Carnahan till the boats were finished which the General had engaged the summer previous when he was returning from Ohio to New England. . . . We observed the western line of Pennsylvania where it crossed the Ohio. It had been marked by cutting down all the trees a space of three or four rods wide. . . .

"It was slow, tedious work on the river, often getting aground, when all the men from both boats had to unite to shove the boat over the shoal places. Some of our party writing to their friends in Rutland informed them of our getting aground on the fish dams above Pittsburgh, but carelessly left out the word *dams*, so it read 'got aground on the *fish*.' The answer came back, 'You must have very large *fish* in the Ohio.' At length we arrived at Marietta about nine o'clock in the morning. I cannot tell the day. . . . All the settlers gave us a hearty welcome. It can scarcely be realized now by persons born and brought up here with what feelings the first settlers welcomed every accession to their number. They had just passed through a time of great scarcity of provisions. Corn was now ripe. Providence had favored them with a good crop. It was a time of peace, and they were full of hopes that soon they would be relieved from all the privations incident to a new settlement so far beyond the abodes of civilized man. . . . This was in November, 1790. . . . Within a few days the massacre of the settlement at Big Bottom took place, which carried dismay to every mind in the infant settlement."

The Indian war dates from Jan. 17th, 1791. The experi-

ence of the next four years was one of great hardship and danger. Gen. Putnam in those trying times showed his good judgment and genius for leadership, and practically saved the colony from destruction. Many of the Ohio Company who had clung to him as long as there was prospect of success and plenty now withdrew when the dark days came. But he was made of different fibre from that. His experience in the French and Indian war had taught him some things which now came in play. Governor St. Clair, who was officially his superior, undertook to quell the outbreak by marching against the invaders with the military force at his command, but proved wholly incompetent to cope with the savage foe. Putnam, realizing the danger which threatened, appealed to Washington for help, writing: "Our situation is truly distressing, and I do most earnestly therefore implore the protection of government for myself and friends inhabiting the wilds of America. To this we consider ourselves justly entitled." But for some reason no help came. His friend Fisher Ames, then a representative in Congress, wrote to him that he was glad the country sympathized with them and was not indisposed to give effectual protection although it would cost money, but that circumstances, too often threw cold water on the natural emotions of the public towards their distressed brethren. So Putnam took the matter into his own hands and organized a company of scouts selected with reference to their courage and skill in reading the movements of the enemy, and gathered his little colony within the walls of the fortification which he had prepared against such an emergency as this. During these perilous times the men would cultivate the fields near by as best they could, but never went so far away that they could not retire within the walls of the stockade in case of an attack by the enemy. And so they lived in constant fear and danger through those long and dreary years, knowing not what a day might bring forth. There were some rather

amusing incidents mingled with those more sober days. The thrifty habits of the New England house-wife were continually cropping out. One night when danger was threatening, under cover of darkness Col. Sproat came into the blockhouse with a box of papers for safe-keeping. There followed some young men with their firearms. Next a woman with her bed and children. After them an old man with his leathern apron full of goldsmith's tools and tobacco. His daughter brought the china teapot and saucers. Another brought the great Bible. But when all were in, mother was missing. Where was mother? One said "She must be killed by the Indians." "Oh no," said another; "mother said she would not leave the house looking so, and so she remained to put things a little to rights." After a while the old lady came bringing the looking-glass, knives, forks, *etc.*

At last the government ordered Gen. Anthony Wayne, more commonly known as "Mad Anthony," with a body of troops to go to the relief of the settlers. Why Gen. Putnam was not put in command is not quite clear, unless Gen. Wayne was higher in rank as an officer during the war of the Revolution. This is true, however, Gen. Putnam was of great service to Wayne in bringing the Indian war to a close and negotiating terms of peace. Among some official papers at Marietta relating to this period is an address which he made at an Indian council convened for the purpose of arranging a treaty, some parts of which are worthy to rank high in our American patriotic literature. It begins as follows: "Brothers: Let us smoke a pipe of friendship." When this preliminary part of the proceeding was over he proceeded. "Brothers: I congratulate you on our first meeting together this day. My speeches which I sent you sixty days ago have reached you, and you are now come to hear what I have to say to you. We meet one another for a good purpose, and the Great Spirit, who has preserved our lives to this day where

we see one another face to face and shake hands together, will be witness to all our transactions. We meet together on no strange ground. It is the ground on which your ancestors have kindled a council fire, and where you since have often met and smoked the pipe of peace. This fire must always be kept burning bright so that you and your allies may see it and meet one another at all times without difficulty or fear there to smoke the pipe of peace, friendship and love. Brothers: I rose from the Great Council Fire of the United States four months ago. There I saw the chiefs of the Five Fires and the chiefs of the Cherokee Nation smoke the pipe of peace with the great Chief of the United States, George Washington. The fire was burning bright, and all that were around it felt happy. The great Chief wished this happiness to extend to all nations. His council fire is kindled for the benefit of all nations. He loves to see his brothers; to talk and smoke with them. Brethren: While the great Chief, George Washington, was thus joyful with his brothers that were with him he looked around and saw with sorrow that some of his distant brothers could not enjoy this happiness with him at present. He observed that a dark cloud had sprung up between them and the United States some time ago, and that this cloud had darkened the sky so much that his brothers and the people of the United States could not distinguish one another, but stumbled against each other and struck the tomahawk in each other's heads. Brothers: The great Chief, wishing to have this dark cloud removed and dispersed, to see the tomahawk drawn out of the heads of each other and buried in the deep, to take each other by the hand anew and establish a new and lasting friendship between all his brothers and the United States, has appointed me his agent for this purpose. I am therefore come to you in confidence that we shall be able to accomplish this great work, and I may then return again to the great Chief with assurance of friendship and peace.

Brothers : I told you in my speech which I sent you that when I came I should bring your women and children with me and return them to their friends. They are now with you. Brothers : I shall always speak to you from my heart, not from my lips only. Speak also from your hearts. Tell me the cause of your uneasiness and I will endeavor to remove it."

The above speech being interpreted by periods to the several tribes, General Putnam delivered them a bunch of white wampum containing six strings. After a long silence a chief of the Eel River tribe rose, shook hands, and, after apologizing for being sick, said :

"My older brother : All your brothers have heard you, and rejoice at what you have said. I will say no more at present, but we will consult among ourselves, and will return you an answer tomorrow. You are right by saying that we meet one another on no strange ground. It is the very place where our former chiefs met and smoked together." Next the chief of another tribe rose, shook hands, and said : "My older brother : I am very glad that what I always told the nation has come to pass. My older brother : I never told a falsehood to my Father the French, nor to my brothers the Americans. We are all glad at what you have said, and will consider upon it and give you an answer tomorrow."

Several more chiefs followed in the same vein, and then they retired to consult among themselves. It would seem as though they at first promised to enter into certain treaty relations, which afterward they refused to abide by, as we find Gen. Putnam at a subsequent meeting addressing them thus : "Brothers : After we had lit the pipe of peace yesterday you told me that the sky was very clear, that we would now smoke together, and should observe that the smoke would ascend straight upwards. You then gave me the pipes and desired me to present them to our great Chief, Gen. Washington, that he might also smoke out of

them. Brothers: When the white people give a thing away they do not ask for it again." And so the conference continued, until a satisfactory treaty was established; and it was owing largely to Putnam's rare ability and tact that it was brought about.

During the Indian war, to meet the pressing needs of the colony, it is recorded that Putnam and Cutler were obliged to draw from their own funds to the amount of about \$11,000, which the government so far as we know never saw fit to return.

It is natural that the subject of education should have been early considered by such men as these. A school was opened in the blockhouse at the southeast corner of Campus Martius very soon after it was built. It was not long, however, before Gen. Putnam, feeling the need of better educational facilities, started a subscription to build a house which might answer the purpose of an academy. And so Muskingum Academy, so-called, a primitive structure, was built in 1790, at an expense of about \$1000, of which Putnam himself gave \$300. David Putnam, a graduate of Yale College, a grandson of Gen. Israel Putnam, and also a distant relative of Rufus, was the first principal. Gen. Putnam was always greatly interested in the subject of education, the more so probably as he realized the want of it in his own early life. He was notoriously a bad speller, as all his written documents amply show. In a letter to a friend he once wrote:

"Had I been as much engaged in learning to write, spelling, etc., as with arithmetic, geography, and history I might have been much better qualified to fill the duties of the succeeding scenes of life which in Providence I have been called to pass through. Having neglected spelling and grammar when I was young, I have suffered much through life on that account."

He concludes his letter by saying that he hoped his children would never allow the education of any one under

their charge to be neglected as his was. While living in Rutland he gave to Leicester Academy, of which he was a trustee, \$500. He was also a trustee of the University of Ohio at Athens. On account of his great natural gifts he always held a prominent position even among men of greater education. President Israel N. Andrews, for many years the honored head of Marietta College, and authority on all matters of local history, said of him: "In a community of able men, many of them highly educated, Gen. Putnam was from the first a leading man."

He was as we might expect, a man of profound religious convictions. He was among the first in securing religious privileges for the new colony. The first ten years, services were held in the blockhouse on the northwest corner of Campus Martius and, after that, in the building of the Muskingum Academy. A church was organized in 1796, Gen. Putnam and his friend Gen. Tupper being the leaders in the movement. The articles of faith and the covenant written out by himself may still be seen among the Congregational Church records of Marietta. His name is first on the list of the charter members and next to it the name of Persis, his wife. The present house of worship, and the oldest building now used for church purposes west of the Ohio River, is said to have been planned by him and was erected in 1809. The subscription list, which is still preserved, is a curiosity of its kind. Among the articles given, besides money, were pork, castor, brown and felt hats, lumber, labor and merchandise of all kinds. Putnam himself subscribed \$400 in labor and lumber, to be paid by Aug. 1st, and \$400 in cash, to be paid Oct. 1st. He was one of the original trustees of what was known as "The First Religious Society of Marietta."

The pews, as was the custom in those days, were sold by auction. He appears on the books of the church as the owner of thirty of them, which he probably bought for

the sake of helping out the cause. He advanced also quite an amount from his own private funds, as is seen by his will, dated July 8th, 1813, in which he says: "I give and bequeath and hereby appropriate \$3,000 out of the money due me from the First Religious Society of Marietta as a permanent fund, the annual interest of which shall be applied to the following objects by trustees hereinafter named: one-third part to the support of the minister of the First Religious Society of Marietta; one-third part to the support of a school for the education of poor children in Marietta; one-third part for the support of missionaries to preach the gospel to places destitute of a stated ministry or among Indian tribes." All through his long and greatly respected life he was a conspicuous figure among the people of Marietta, and his influence was very marked throughout the State. He held many important offices of trust in his lifetime in both the general and the local governments. In addition to those already named, he was one of the first territorial judges and also a member of the convention to draw up a constitution for organizing the State of Ohio in 1802. In his best days he is described as being a man of splendid physique, six feet in height, erect, well proportioned and of a soldierly bearing. He was quick and decisive in all his movements and sometimes almost abrupt in manners. By his kind-heartedness, however, he never failed to be conciliatory when the occasion warranted. He was cheery and impressive in conversation, and possessed a fund of anecdote and ready information on all topics. His declining years were beautiful in the deference paid him by a people who owed him so much for all that he had been to them in dark and bright days alike. When in Marietta in 1894 the writer of this paper was fortunate in obtaining from Mrs. Sarah Cutler Dawes of that city, a granddaughter of the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, D.D., an aged lady of 85 years, who has since died, the following reminiscences of Gen. Rufus Putnam, which

she recalled from her early girlhood. These are her words. "I was attending school in Marietta in 1822-3. Miss Sophia Tupper was my seat mate and particular friend. Her mother was a daughter of Gen. Rufus Putnam. She lived at Putnam, Ohio, now a part of Zanesville. She lived at Gen. Putnam's here. Gen. Putnam's daughter Miss Betsey kept house for him in the old building, which was a part of Campus Martius. I was often at the house with Sophia, and I remember staying there once all night. I often saw Gen. Putnam and talked with him. Once Miss Betsey introduced me as Ephraim Cutler's daughter. He shook my hand a long time and said, 'And you are Ephraim Cutler's daughter!' He shook my hand a long time. He was quite deaf. He seemed to me a very large looking man, but feeble with age. He was very erect in his carriage and dignified in manner, and I thought he walked like a soldier. He asked a blessing at table, standing himself at the head of the table while we all stood up by the side of our chairs. At night he had family prayers. We all stood up during the service, which was conducted by the General. He appeared old and his hand trembled. Once at the table he dropped a tumbler of water and broke a glass, when Miss Betsey said, 'Oh, father has broken a glass!' and she brought a silver cup for him. His house was well furnished, but not better than others of the same class. I saw him at church. He would walk up the aisle with great dignity, and all the people seemed to pay him deference. I attended his funeral. There was a large crowd in attendance. The exercises were held in the Congregational Church. Miss Betsey was a very gracious lady, kind to all, and she presided over the house with dignity and graceful manners. A great many people visited them. There were liquors used at Gen. Putnam's, as was the case everywhere else. But Rufus Browning told me that he once took a drink, and his grandfather, Rufus Putnam,

saw him and said, 'Do not ever touch another drop of liquor,' and that this had great influence over him and he never did."

The house in which he lived for the greater part of his life after the Indian war is still standing. It was reconstructed from the old blockhouse on the southeast corner of Campus Martius, and is a plain two-story building, somewhat smaller than the one in which he lived in Rutland. In one of the rooms may still be seen relics of the early colonial days, such as a powder-magazine and an ample closet for guns and military accoutrements. A large chamber in the second story, in which Gen. Putnam died May 4th, 1824, at the advanced age of 87 years, is still in a good state of repair. In the old Mound Cemetery, back on the bluffs which overlook the Ohio and Muskingum Rivers, is a plain but substantial granite monument which marks his last resting-place, having on its face this inscription :

GEN. RUFUS PUTNAM,

A revolutionary officer and leader of the colony which made the first settlement in the territory of the North West at Marietta, Apr. 7, 1788.

BORN APR. 9TH, 1738.

DIED MAY 4TH, 1824.

"The memory of the just is blessed."

Gen. Putnam had a numerous family of children. Five sons and two daughters survived him. His descendants are widely scattered throughout the West, and are among its leading and influential citizens. All of his papers and letters relating to his public life descended to his grandson, Col. Rufus Putnam of Marietta, who at his death bequeathed them to Marietta College, in whose archives they are now safely deposited.

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